Haw. boll. Libj

10

THE LIBERATOR
—IS PUBLISHED—
EVERY FRIDAY MORNING,
—AT—
221 WASHINGTON STREET, ROOM No. 6.

ROBERT F. WALLCUT, General Agent.

☞ TERMS.—Three dollars per annum, in advance.

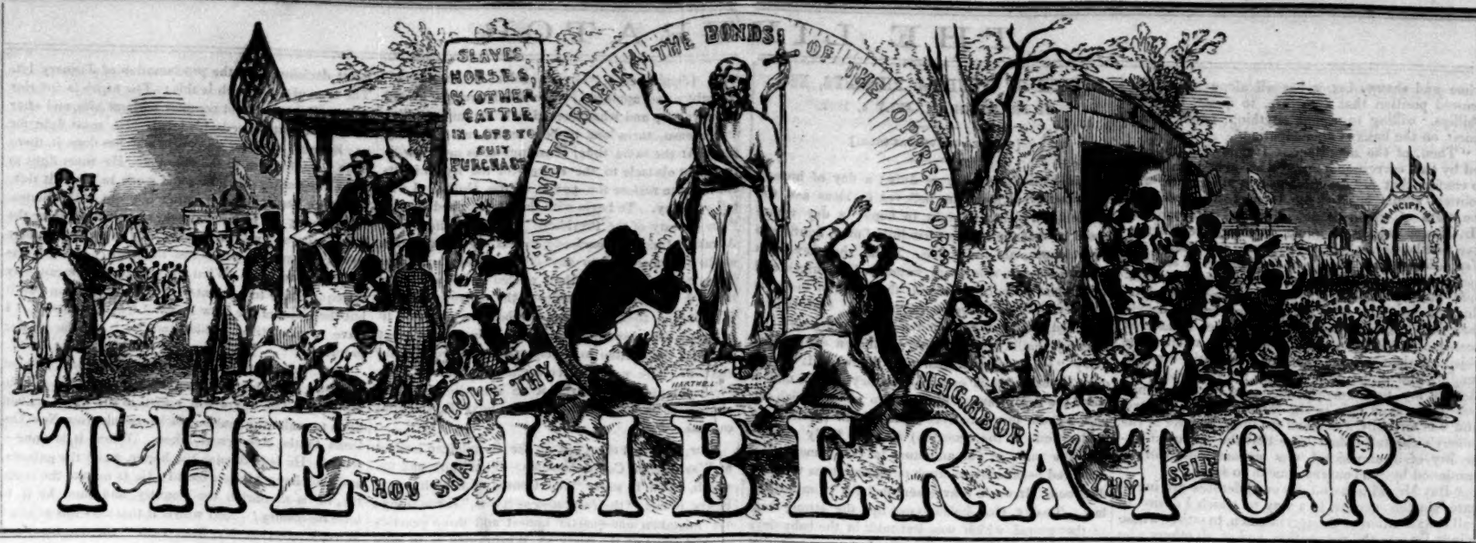
☞ Four copies will be sent to one address for TEN DOLLARS, if payment is made in advance.

☞ All remittances are to be made, and all letters relating to the pecuniary concerns of the paper are to be directed, (POST PAID,) to the General Agent.

☞ Advertisements of a square and over inserted three times at five cents per line; less than a square, 75 cents for three insertions. Yearly and half yearly advertisements inserted on reasonable terms.

☞ The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Michigan Anti-Slavery Societies are authorized to receive subscriptions for THE LIBERATOR.

☞ The following gentlemen constitute the Financial Committee, but are not responsible for any debts of the paper, viz:—WENDELL PHILLIPS, EDMUND QUINCY, EDMUND JACKSON, and WILLIAM L. GARRISON, JR.


SLAVES, HORSES, & OTHER CATTLE IN LOTS TO SUIT PURCHASERS
TO BREAK THE BONDS OF THE OPPRESSED
THOU SHALT LOVE THY NEIGHBOR AS THY SELF
EMANCIPATION

THE LIBERATOR.

"Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof."

"I lay this down as the law of nations. I say that military authority takes, for the time, the place of all municipal institutions, and SLAVERY AMONG THE REST; and that, under that state of things, so far from its being true that the States where slavery exists have the exclusive management of the subject, not only the PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, but the COMMANDER OF THE ARMY, HAS POWER TO ORDER THE UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION OF THE SLAVES. . . . . From the instant that the slaveholding States become the theatre of a war, CIVIL, servile, or foreign, from that instant the war powers of CONGRESS extend to interference with the institution of slavery, IN EVERY WAY IN WHICH IT CAN BE INTERFERED WITH, from a claim of indemnity, for slaves taken or destroyed, to the cession of States, burdened with slavery, to a foreign power. . . . It is a war power. I say it is a war power; and when your country is actually in war, whether it be a war of invasion or a war of insurrection, Congress has power to carry on the war, and MUST CARRY IT ON, ACCORDING TO THE LAWS OF WAR; and by the laws of war, an invaded country has all its laws and municipal institutions swept by the board, and MARTIAL POWER TAKES THE PLACE OF THEM. When two hostile armies are set in martial array, the commanders of both armies have power to emancipate all the slaves in the invaded territory."—J. Q. ADAMS.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

VOL. XXXIII. NO. 28. BOSTON, FRIDAY, JULY 10, 1863. WHOLE NO. 1692.

Refuge of Oppression.

THE GENUINE COPPERHEAD SPIRIT.

A mass convention of the Copperhead Democracy of Vermont was held in Montpelier, June 26th,—C. N. Davenport, of Wilmington, acting as President. The principal speakers were Benjamin H. Smalley, Esq., (the Democratic candidate for Governor last year,) and the notorious New England renegade, James G. Brooks, editor of that dirty and seditious sheet, the New York *Express*. Below we give the speech of Mr. Smalley, as a specimen of the democratic "loyalty" which characterized the entire proceedings:—

B. H. Smalley, Esq. of Swanton, was called for, and came forward amid hearty applause, and addressed the Convention at some length. He commenced by reviewing the events of the past year, and inquiring what was the cause of the desolation and death that had filled the land with mourning—what had caused the new-made graves, and hushed so many voices that a year ago were jubilant? That cause was the spirit of bitterness and hatred that had been generated between the North and the South by *a dominant faction, that wished to rule with a hand of iron over Southern men and Northern men.* [*Applause.*] *For Southern men they had the bullet: for Northern men the prison.* In his judgment, the occasion of all this trouble was *the rabid fanaticism of New England*, which deems that she has a mission from Almighty God not only to regulate her own people and her own section of country, but to go forth to the South, and enforce upon that people her maxims of civil government, her policy and her religion. [Applause, and cries of "That's true."]

In illustration of this point, the speaker referred to the acts of the Legislature of Vermont, extending over a period of twenty years, which he characterized as unconstitutional assaults upon the South. The idea of the abolition of slavery, he said, had been the predominant idea in Vermont. It had emanated from the pulpit, and had descended to their schools, and even their Sunday schools, and the people had been taught to hate and despise the Southern man, and consider him as inferior, and that they have a right to take the control of his affairs into their own hands. Our poets, our orators, our priests, the men who assumed to be teachers and leaders of the people, had steadily inculcated among the people the idea that slaveholding was a damning sin, and that it ought to be blotted out, if it was at the expense of the nation. This course had been steadily pursued, until a party had arisen that was able to elect a President by less than one-third the votes of the nation. They had said to the South—"You are inferior to us—you are inferior in morals, in intelligence, in religion; you ought to be subservient to us, and we ought to rule and control you." Our Senators in Congress, said Mr. S., have expended all their power and eloquence, for the last five years, to prove the barbarism of slavery. They have painted, in glaring colors, all the vices and crimes of the South. Sumner, in the Senate of the United States, delivered a speech, which was printed and made 300 pages, in which he attempted to draw a picture of the South. It was as if a man should undertake to paint a picture of New York, and after depicting all the brothels, all the groggeries, and all the places of vice and immorality in that city, should hold the picture up to you, and say—"Behold New York!" Would you not say he was a lying rascal, and was attempting to deceive you? The Southern people were sensitive and restive under these aggressions, and a spirit of disaffection was in this way created.

The speaker then proceeded to speak of the President, who, he said, was *a rabid Abolitionist before he was elected*, and urged the propriety of putting an end to slavery *at the point of the bayonet*, if necessary. He was a third-rate lawyer, and never had reached the dignity of arguing a case in the Supreme Court of Illinois, where his fame as a rail-splitter was only traditional; but he had got *the fanatical idea into his mind of the equality of races*, and when he got the nomination for President, he thought he was raised up by the Almighty for the special purpose of making the negro the equal of the white man—morally, socially, and politically. [Laughter and applause.] He went into power with the predetermined design of accomplishing that object; but, like many men who entertain opinions that are not acceptable to the world, he disguised his object, and began by pledging himself to the preservation of the Union and the laws. But how long was it before he inaugurated a great war?

Mr. S., charged that *the President had provoked South Carolina to fire upon Fort Sumter*, by sending a fleet there, ostensibly to provision the Fort, when he had pledged himself not to do so without notifying that State, which pledge he meant to keep, and the fleet was really designed for Pensacola, whence it subsequently went, when the object of its visit to the harbor of Charleston had been accomplished. Mr. Lincoln's one idea was the elevation of the negro, and, without a great war, that could not be accomplished. He was *particeps criminis* in the war. *He had provoked it for the purpose of conquering the South, and ruling it by the bayonet.* But he had not succeeded in conquering the South—*it was the North that had been conquered.*

After referring to the enormous expense of the war, and to the myriads of lives that must yet be sacrificed before the South can be conquered,—for the men of the South were descended from the Normans, and would fight as well as Northern men, as we had learned,—he inquired what we should have secured, granting that we accomplished our object, and subjugated the South. We should have no Union. That was not the way in which Unions were made. We should need a standing army of 500,000 or a million of men to keep that country in order; for whatever we might do, we were not going to cut the throats of all the men there, and there would be men enough left at the South whom nothing but bayonets could keep in subjection. This vast army had got to be paid by Northern sweat and toil. They could get no taxes from the South. Did any body suppose that any revenue was to be obtained from the negro? He had never had any commerce, anywhere. Look at him in Africa! He was inferior, and had never risen to the dignity of civilized life. No, the North would have to pay all the bills. Freedom of the press and of speech was crushed. Public assemblages were suppressed as Cromwell suppressed the Long Parliament. *That was what the people had got by the war, and by the Abolition press.*

In the course of his remarks, Mr. Smalley referred to the former leaders of the Democracy in the State who had attempted to sell out the party, and charged that they had deserted it from mercenary motives. He said that when one of these "shoddy Democrats" was heard *defending the war*, it would always be found that he had his hand in the treasury, either by way of contracts or through commissions to his sons. These men would be desiring to come back to the party before five years, but he, for one, would never consent to their being received again as leaders. If they were willing to come back to the ranks, and do their duty as privates, he should have no objection to their coming. He had no ambition to be a leader himself, and had never made a political speech until within the last two years. All he desired was, that the administration of the Government should be in the hands of men of ability and integrity, that he might be able to go to bed without fear of the Provost Marshal, Fort Lafayette or the tax gatherer. [Applause.] The pretended regard for the negro, Mr. S. said, was all hypocrisy. All these men wanted was to *make money out of him*, as they did down in Louisiana, by setting him at work on plantations taken from Southern men, at 10 cents a day. *God's providence had never brought so great a misfortune on the negro as this war.*

In conclusion, Mr. Smalley said—"It remains to be seen, whether we are to be free or slaves. If the people of this country will arouse themselves, and at the ballot box, endeavor to set these things right, *by turning this vile Administration out of power*, we may possibly preserve our government. At any rate, if we can have the opportunity of assembling and voting, we can put ourselves upon the record, where, if we cannot control by our votes, in pursuance of law, we may protect our public rights by combinations among ourselves. But, gentlemen, the maxim of the Democracy is, support the law of the land; support the Government, wherever they keep within the pale of the law. But when by their own acts of oppression, for the purpose of carrying out their own fanatical ideas or aggrandizement, they undertake to overrun the Constitution of the country, and annihilate the rights of the people, go to the ballot box, and put in a different set of men, and turn them out. If, when we have legally elected a different set of men, they refuse to retire, then, gentlemen, it will be time to resort to force; but not till then. It is not every military order that the President of the United States or *any of his minions* may issue. He has not by law the right to exercise supreme power over the life of every man in the country. That is not the law. I hope, gentlemen, that the country may be sufficiently aroused to the condition of affairs to alter the existing state of things. I would join any body of men that would, by legal means and legal votes, put out the Administration, hoping and believing that, in the order of God's Providence, *as vile and imbecile an Administration cannot be resuscitated in any section of the world.* [Loud applause, and three cheers for the speaker.]

Selections.

SPEECH OF BAPTIST NOEL.

On the evening of June 3d, an immense anti-slavery meeting was held in the Free-Trade Hall at Manchester, (Eng.) Mr. T. B. Potter inthe chair. The speakers were Rev. Dr. Massie, of London, Rev. Marmaduke Miller, of Darlington, Rev. Dr. King, Rev. Dr. McMichael, Hon. and Rev. Baptist Noel, and Rev. J. H. Rylance. The sympathisers with the Southern rebellion created a good deal of disturbance by their noisy and insolent interruptions.

The Hon. and Rev. Baptist Noel, on rising, was greeted with the same purposeless uproar that had been continued before, and

The Chairman said there were a few parties evidently bent upon disturbing the meeting. They had been frequently desired to desist, but they would not, or could not, listen to reason. Now he should be very sorry to call in the police, but order must be kept. The uproar increased for a few moments, but ultimately settled down.

Mr. Noel, after a few preliminary remarks, spoke as follows: I hope sincerely the men of Manchester will not let it go forth to the world that this whole meeting, because of the opposition of about one in a hundred, is in favor of the South. ("No, no," and cheers.) At any rate, some are determined to create noise enough to make it appear so. ("Oh, never mind that lot," and laughter.) If, however, it should happen that this meeting is broken up, I hope the friends of freedom will hold these meetings every week until these gentlemen are silent—until argument, and appeal, and reason make them for very shame silent. (Cheers.) The point I have to bring before you is exceedingly unexciting. I am not accustomed to try and produce much excitement by speaking, nor is it always conducive to the proper settlement of a question. If, however, I am allowed to argue upon this platform, it shall be that there is no hope for emancipation in the success and independence of the South. If in the course of my remarks I say anything which the Southern sympathizers do not like—and I have no doubt I shall—(laughter and cheers,) then, I dare say, they will make the greatest noise, just as the House of Commons did when Fox was describing the mischiefs of slavery. But his reply will be mine, "You cannot bear to hear these things, but you can bear to let them be done." (Cheers.)

The circumstances in which the Southern slaveholders are placed are such as to make it seem to me very improbable that they will emancipate their slaves, if they obtain the independence for which they are so gallantly fighting. (Hear, hear.) The slaveholders have obtained their wealth from their slaves; their power comes from slavery and slaveholding, which in that republic is rank as well as power. There they are oligarchs, peers, nobles, and princes, because they have their slaves. (Cheers.) Are they likely to part with all these good things? ("No, no," and renewed cheers.) Is it not too much of simplicity to expect that these men will part with their slaves, when they themselves tell you that their slaves constitute all that is great in their position? Besides, we know from repeated testimony,—and there is not a slaveholder either in this country or America who would deny it,—that they have a firm conviction that the slaves, when emancipated, will not labor for them. (Loud cheers.) They feel that their properties must run to waste, their magnificent estates lie idle, and they themselves, their wives and children, be reduced to pauperism by the simple fact of emancipation, because the negro will not work for them. I do not wonder that they should have that suspicion. One of the most estimable, as far as I could judge of him—of the Confederate generals—Gen. Lee—according to the correspondent of the *Morning Star*—holds 400 slaves. On one occasion there were three of his young slaves—two brothers and a sister—went to the brook to get for themselves some fish, having been unable to obtain sufficient food. The consequence was they were sentenced to a public flogging, and the two boys were flogged by the overseer until their backs were raw and bloody. And then the girl was stripped naked, to be flogged by this chivalrous gentleman. (Cheers, and "Shame.") Women-flogging by the chivalry of the South! (Cheers.) And when the overseer had so much of the man left in him as to say, "Not a woman, sir"—(cheers)—General Lee seized the whip and inflicted punishment himself. Whether this be true or not, I cannot say; but I know many such things occur, and, therefore, I do not wonder that slaveholders, accustomed to flog men and women, should be afraid that their slaves, when free, will not work for them on the slave plantation. (Cheers.)

The slaveholders know, also, that the freed men will, after a little time, claim for themselves what was till lately the privilege of their masters; and when they get that electoral privilege, they must be treated as equals. Those who were their masters must make contracts with the men whom they had driven by the whip. The slave-owner must learn to ask of those whom he has treated as dogs to condescend to labor for him. Free labor is dignified; free labor forms great characters, nerves the mind, strengthens the muscles, and increases the virtues, and is that which God intended, and of which man may be proud. But when a man has been forced to toil under the lash, degraded to the very earth, by that circumstance, I do not wonder that those who have thus degraded him should be afraid to see him rise to the level of themselves. And you must see more than that. Seeing that the blacks in the rebel States are more than one-third of the whole population, and that they increase rapidly, and will increase more rapidly when free—(cheers)—and when they have obtained the electoral franchise, their present owners are afraid they will be outvoted on every occasion, and that those who remember how they have been treated by slaveholders will never return them to offices of power. (Cheers and interruption.)

Again I say, gentlemen, if it is your will that I should stop, I would gladly do so. There are many quiet meetings in this country where I have abundant opportunities of expressing my own views. The press is open, as well as the platform, to any man, and I only come here because I believe that you in Lancashire have so much the use of liberty, and have so much honored your own name by the course you have taken in this unhappy controversy, that you will not be willing that your country should be disgraced by its going forth from this great hall that a majority of your working men as represented here are in favor of the South, and therefore of slavery. (Continued clamor.) I say, the circumstances in which the slaveholders are placed forbid any man of common intelligence coming to the conclusion that if they were independent, they would set their slaves free. (Uproar.) But who should best know their minds? Some of these Southern sympathisers at the door of this hall? Are they the men who know best? I must say of my friends around me here, that they are acting in a gentlemanlike way; but those gentlemen at the door, who make so much noise—do they know better than Mr. Spratt, of the Charleston *Mercury*—or Mr. Stephens, the vice-president of the Confederacy—or Mr. Palmer, the eminent and respected minister of New Orleans—or than the chief of the Southern Episcopalian Church, met in solemn conclave? (Continued uproar.) Which knows best the opinion of those gentlemen? These Southern sympathisers who have come up by the various trains from the towns about Manchester to silence you Manchester men? (Laughter and cheers.) Are these men likely to know better than the gentlemen in the South what their intentions are? I appeal to their known and proclaimed opinions. Mr. Spratt has declared that they must not only preserve slavery, but reopen the slave trade, and he declares that they will and shall. He declares that they will, because every slaveless white man sees the beginning of his fortune in the possession of a slave; and as soon as the Southerners are independent, they are not likely to throw away the opportunity. (Uproar and cries of "Time.") As I hear "time" called, let me ask you this: Is it your will that I should go on or not? (Cries of "Yes," and cheers.) Those for it hold up your hands. (A large number of hands were held up.) Now those against me. (A very few hands were held up. The uproar, however, continued.) If they don't hold up their hands, they make a great noise with their mouths. They don't like to tell you who they are. But they like you to hear a confused Babel of sound which shall hinder your getting the very small gratification of a little information from me. But in the meantime, let me advance a little. (Loud derisive cheers and groans from the gallery.) There is nothing like that thunder; and a friend of mine says we will have three cheers for President Lincoln. At least, let Manchester give itself that pleasure. Three cheers for President Lincoln! (Three cheers were given, for the time drowning all the counter demonstrations.) Now, then, let those gentlemen who seemed able to cheer so loudly give three cheers for Jefferson Davis. (Three loud cheers were given, mingled with groans, but the emphasis was feeble compared with that of the previous manifestation, and the contrast provoked general laughter.) There are fifty to one for Mr. Lincoln, and one in a hundred for Mr. Davis. (Cheers and counter cheers.) Let me tell you what Jefferson Davis is. After having employed blacks in the service of the South, as laborers and soldiers too, as soon as Mr. Lincoln was returned—(uproarious cheering in the gallery.) Gentlemen, I will venture to prophesy, if you will not listen to argument, that in ten years' time there is not a man here, on this platform, not a man there at the door, not a man in the galleries, not a man in the pit, not one that will cheer for Jefferson Davis. (Cheers.) I venture that prophecy; now mark that. I shall not live so long, but you will, and you will not then see one man who will venture to cheer for him whose motto is, Murder! murder! murder! (Great cheering and clamors.) After his murder order—for that I call it—after having ordered General Butler to be hanged without process of law, and then ordering the officers serving under General Butler to be executed without process of law, without having a court martial to try them, and for no offence that could be proved; after having done this, he then issued this order—you may recollect the words: That every negro soldier freedman, taken in arms, should be delivered up to the authorities of the State in which he was captured, to be treated as those state-laws required in the case of those insurgents against them. (Great interruption.) They are ordered to be hanged or burnt alive, by the state authorities. He goes further than that. If the noblest patriots that ever lived; if the best men in the Union—those men who are models of a real chivalry, devoted to their country, as gentlemanly as they are brave, commanding those negro regiments—are captured, he orders that they also shall be given up to the state authorities, to be treated like those who are aiding a rebellion in their states.—(Cries of "Time.") Will you cheer for Jefferson Davis, who gives those military orders? Let me go one step further. I say it is impossible for the Southerners to emancipate. (Cheers and confusion.) If you don't wish to listen to it, it is because you can't answer it. [Mr. Joseph Barker (who had taken a seat at the reporter's table) here called: "I am listening, and I can answer it."] Very well, here's a gentleman who says he will listen, and will answer. I say they cannot emancipate. There are many arguments I must omit; do not suppose that the whole are exhausted. There is a clause of their constitution that no congress shall pass any law touching slavery; they have also enacted, and from this they cannot recede. (Renewed interruption.) Well, gentlemen, as there are others to follow me, and as I have taken up the number of minutes allotted to me, I will only say, in conclusion, it is my hearty prayer that every honest-hearted and every patriotic Englishman may speak and think, talk when he can and read when he can, in favor of emancipation, reunion and peace. (Loud cheers.)

SPEECH OF JOHN BRIGHT, ESQ., ON THE AMERICAN STRUGGLE.

On the evening of the 16th June, a densely crowded public meeting was held at the London Tavern, to hear from the Rev. Moncure D. Conway, of Virginia, an address on the war in America. John Bright, Esq., presided on the occasion, and in the course of a very lucid and eloquent speech said:—

If we look back a little over two years—two years and a-half—when the question of secession was first raised in a practical shape, I think we shall be able to remember that when the news first arrived in England, there was but one opinion with regard to it—that every man condemned the folly and the wickedness of the South—(hear, hear)—protested against their plea that they had any just grievance which justified them in revolt—(hear, hear)—and every man hoped that some mode might be discovered by which the terrible calamity of war might be avoided. (Hear, hear.) For a time, most thought that there would be no war. Whilst the reins of power were slipping from the hands—the too feeble hands—of Mr. Buchanan—(hear, hear)—into the grasp of President Lincoln—(loud cheers)—there was a moment when men thought that we were about to see the wonderful example of a great question, which in all other countries would have involved a war, settled perhaps by moderation—some moderation on one side, and some concession on the other; and so long as men belived that there would be no war, so long everybody condemned the South. We were afraid of a war in America because we knew that one of the great industries of our country depended upon the continuous reception of its raw material from the Southern States. But it was a folly—(hear, hear)—it was a gross absurdity for any man to believe, with the history of the world before him, that the people of the Northern States, 20,000,000, with the free Government, would for one moment sit down satisfied with the dismemberment of their country, and make no answer to the war which had been commenced by the South. (Great cheering.) I speak not in justification of war. (Hear, hear.) I am only treating this question upon principles which are almost universally acknowledged throughout the world, and by a vast and overwhelming majority even of those men who accept the Christian religion—[hear, hear,] and it is only upon those principles so almost universally acknowledged, and acknowledged as much in this country as anywhere else—it is only just that we should judge the United States upon the principles upon which we in this country would be likely to act. [Hear, hear.] But the North did not yield to the dismemberment of their country, and they did not allow a conspiracy of Southern politicians and slave-owners to seize their forts and their arsenals without preparing for resistance; and then when the people of England found that the North were about to resist, and the war was inevitable, they turned their eye from the South, which was the beginner of the war—[hear, hear]—and looked to the North, saying that if the North could not resist, there could be no war—[laughter]; and that we should get our cotton, and trade would go on; and therefore from that hour to this, not a few persons in this country, who at first condemned the South, have been incessant in their condemnation of the North. [Hear, hear.] Now I believe this is a fair statement—[hear, hear]—of the feeling which prevailed when the first news of secession arrived, and of the change of opinion which took place in a few weeks when it was found that by the resolution of the North to maintain the integrity of their country, war, and civil war, was unavoidable. The trade interests of the country affected our opinion; and, I fear, did then prevent and has since prevented our doing justice to the people of the North. [Hear, hear, and cheers.] Now I am going to transport you all in mind to Lancashire, and the interests of Lancashire—[hear, hear]—which, after all, are the interests of the whole United Kingdom, and clearly of not a few in this metropolis. Now, what was the condition of our greatest manufacturing industry before the war, and before secession had been practically attempted? It was this: that almost 90 per cent. of all our cotton came from the Southern States of the American Union, and was, at least nine-tenths of it, the produce of the uncompensated labor of the negro. [Hear, hear.] Every body knew that we were carrying on a prodigious industry upon a most insecure foundation, and it was the commonest thing in the world for men who were discussing the present and the future of the cotton trade, whether in Parliament or out of it, to point to the existence of slavery in the United States of America as the dangerous thing in connection with that great trade; and it was one of the reasons which stimulated me on several occasions to urge upon the Government of this country to improve the Government of India—[cheers]—and to give us a chance of receiving a considerable portion of our supply from India, so that we might not be left in absolute want when the calamity occurred which all thoughtful men knew must some day come in the United States. Now I maintain that, with your supply of cotton from the Southern States, raised by slave labor, two things are indisputable; first, that your supply must always be insufficient, and second, that it must always be insecure. * * *

Well, whilst the cultivation of cotton was performed by slave labor, you were shut up for your hope of increased growth to the small increase of 2½ per cent. per annum in the population of the slaves, about 1,000,000 in number, that have been regularly employed in the cultivation of cotton. Then, if the growth was thus insufficient—and I as one connected with the trade can speak very clearly upon that point—[hear, hear]—I ask you whether the production of the supply were not necessarily insecure by reason of the institution of slavery? It was perilous with the Union. In this country we made one mistake in our forecast of this question; we did not believe that the South would commit suicide; we thought it possible that the slaves might revolt. They might revolt, but their subjugation was inevitable, because the whole power of the Union was pledged to the maintenance of order in every part of its dominions. But if there be men who think that the cotton trade would be safer if the South were an independent State with slavery established there in permanence, these greatly mistake—[hear, hear]—because, whatever was the danger of the revolt in the Southern States whilst the Union was complete, the possibility of revolt and the possibility of success would be surely greatly increased if the North were separate from the South, and the negro had only his Southern master and not the Northern power to contend against. [Cheers.] But I believe that there is no danger of revolt, and no possibility of success. [Hear, hear.] When the revolt took place in the island of St. Domingo, the blacks were far superior in number to the whites. In the Southern States it is not so, and ignorant, degraded, without organization, without arms, and scarcely with any faint hope of freedom for ever except the enthusiastic one which they have when they believe, as they universally do believe, that God some day will stretch out his arm—[loud cheers]—I say that under these circumstances, to my mind there was no reasonable expectation of revolt, and there was no expectation whatever of success in any attempt to gain their liberty by force of arms. But now we are in a different position. Slavery itself has chosen its own issue, and has chosen its own field. Slavery—and when I say slavery, I mean the Slave Power—has not trusted to the future; but it has rushed into the battle-field to settle this great question, and, having chosen war, it is from day to day sinking to inevitable ruin under it. [Cheers.] Now if we are agreed—and I am keeping you still to Lancashire and to its interests for a moment longer—that this vast industry, with all its interests of capital and labor, has been standing on a menacing volcano, is it not possible that hereafter it may be placed upon a rock which nothing can disturb? [Cheers.] Imagine what of course some people will say one has no right to imagine—imagine the war over, the Union restored—[hear, hear]—and slavery abolished—[cheers]—does any man suppose that there would be in the South one single negro fewer than there are at present? [Hear, hear.] On the contrary, I believe there would be more. I believe there is many a negro in the Northern States, and even in Canada, who, if the lash, and the chain, and the branding-iron, and the despotism, against which even he dared not complain, were abolished for ever, would turn his face to the sunny lands of the South, and would find himself happier and more useful there than he can be in a more northern clime. [Hear, hear.] More than this, there would be a migration from the North to the South. You do not suppose that those beautiful States, those regions than which earth offers nothing to man more fertile and more lovely, are shunned by the enterprising population of the North because they like the rigors of a Northern winter and the greater changeableness of the Northern seasons? Once abolish slavery in the South, and the whole of the country will be open to the enterprise and to the industry of all. [Cheers.] And more than that, when you find that only the other day not fewer than 4,000 emigrants, most of them from the United Kingdom, landed in one day in the city of New York, do you suppose that all those men would go North and West at once? Would not some of them turn their faces Southward, and seek the clime of the sun which is so grateful to all men, and where they would find a soil more fertile, rivers more abundant, and everything that Nature offers more profusely given, but from which they are now debarred, as mankind everywhere are shut out by the accursed power which slavery exerts? [Loud cheers.] Why, with freedom you would have a gradual filling up of the wildernesses of the Southern States; you would have there not population only, but capital, and industry, and roads, and schools, and, I should say, everything which tends to produce growth, and wealth, and prosperity. [Loud applause.] Now, I maintain—and I believe my opinion will be supported by all those men who are most conversant with American affairs—that with slavery abolished, with freedom firmly established in the South, you would find in ten years to come a rapid increase in the growth of cotton, and not only would its growth be rapid, but its permanent increase would be secure. [Hear, hear] I said that I was interested in this great question of cotton. I come from the midst of the cotton industry of Lancashire; much the largest portion of anything I have in the world depends upon it; not a little of it is now utterly valueless, and worse than valueless, under the continuance of this war. My neighbors by thousands, and scores of thousands, are suffering more or less as I am suffering, and many of them, as you know, more than a quarter of a million of them, have been driven from a subsistence gained by their honorable labor to the extremest poverty, and to a dependence upon the charity of their fellow-countrymen. My interest is the interest of all the population. [Hear, hear.] My interest is against a mere enthusiasm, a mere sentiment, a mere visionary fancy of freedom as against slavery. I am speaking now as a matter of business. I am glad when matters of business go straight with matters of high sentiment and morality—[hear, hear]—but I from this platform declare my solemn conviction, that there is no greater enemy to Lancashire, to its capital, and to its labor, than the man who wishes the cotton agriculture of the Southern States to be continued under slave labor. [Loud cheers.]

USE OF THE WAR POWER.

Extracts from a masterly treatise, just published in pamphlet form by C. Sherman, Son & Co., Printers, Philadelphia, entitled "Our National Constitution: its Adaptation to a State of War or Insurrection. By Hon. Daniel Agnew, President Judge Seventeenth Judicial District, Pa."

The terrible earnestness of war would be made ludicrous by a rebel in arms quoting the Constitution to his captors. Imagine him sword in one hand, and Constitution in the other, saying, "No one shall be deprived of life, liberty or property, without due process of law"—"The privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended." But is this quotation any less preposterous in the mouth of a rebel sympathizer, aider or abettor, who furnishes arms, information, medicines, or aid to the enemy; or paralyzes the arm of suppressing force by discouraging enlistments, counteracting the call of the militia, or by any other act of disloyalty, directly tending to support the cause of the rebels? And what difference does it make where he performs his part, or how minute it is, in this grand drama of ubiquitous treason?

What a solemn mockery is the injunction to "preserve, protect and defend the Constitution," and "to take care that the laws be faithfully executed," if the means of suppressing traitors and rebels, put into the Executive hands by the Constitution and law, may be wrested from his grasp, by some peace-breathing clause of the same Constitution?

The rights of the loyal also yield to the necessities of war. The law-abiding, peaceful citizen must shoulder his musket, and lay down his life upon the battle-field; his liberty is restrained by discipline; his property taken and destroyed for a military purpose. If he appeal to the Constitution, though it frowns not on him as upon the rebel, in sorrow it turns from him the mild features of peace, and exposes to view only the grim visage of war.

* * * * * * *

The enemy has constant information of our armies, their numbers, movements and designs. This cannot be arrested upon thousands of miles of contiguous territory, with an imprudent, sometimes vicious press; with men of rebel sympathies, and many actual spies and traitors to overstep them. What civil process will remedy the evil, and avert the danger? What civil prosecution will operate by *precaution* or *prevention*, to save us from defeat and disaster; admitting even, that it might "drag its slow length along" to *punishment*? Our brave soldiers fight well, but they are led to ruin and to sacrifice. They move, but the Richmond spider, forewarned, runs from his centre, and meets them at every outer thread of his dangerous web.

Must the Government be ever thus exposed to the machinations of secret sympathy and treason? Must the wheels of war be blocked at every step?

Then what remains but to restrain these acts by military means? There must be a power to muzzle the press when it runs mad, and to arrest and confine men when they exhibit their traitorous proclivities. It is a question of life or death to the nation.

The civil power is inadequate, and the military must save it, or it perishes. By the exigency, the security of peace becomes incompatible with the danger of war; and the guarantees of the former give way to the necessities of the latter. This necessity brings into exercise the Executive discretion, under the war authority, which removes the danger by the constitutional use of force.

Let us now examine some of these minor guarantees of the Constitution, and see how unsound much of the clamor against their alleged infractions has been.

"Congress shall make no law abridging the freedom of speech and of press."

Mark the language,—*Congress* shall make no *law*.

The freedom of speech and of the press is vital in a republic, founded upon the will of the people and popular intelligence. It is therefore essential that Congress should be prohibited from encroaching upon this liberty, lest passionate majorities, in times of high excitement, should crush out the rights of the minority.

But does it follow because of this prohibition on the law-making power, that in time of war and great public exigency any one may, with impunity, publish by mouth or by press matter affording information and encouragement to the enemy, spreading sedition, destroying confidence in the means of suppressing insurrection, producing dissatisfaction and mutiny in the army, and preventing enlistments?

To pass a law, abridging the freedom of speech and of the press, is one thing, and to take military cognizance of an *abuse* of it, which directly thwarts the plans and destroys the ability of the Government to prosecute the war against the enemy, is a totally different thing. If they be one, then Congress even cannot, by reason of the constitutional barrier, pass a law to correct the abuse.

But it is clear, that whenever these abuses stand directly in the way of the exercise of the military powers delegated to suppress rebellion, and cause the laws to be observed, these powers, granted without proviso or restriction, rise superior to the obstacle, and clear it from their path. Take an example.

An expedition is fitting out in New York harbor of momentous importance. The secret is wormed out by that omnipresent treason, which permeates every quarter of the North, and a New York paper publishes the destination and design, the number of vessels and forces, and everything useful to the enemy. Or perhaps the army is on the march, but at the very moment when success should crown its efforts, the plans are thus divulged; the enemy seizes his advantage, and our army is defeated and decimated.

Thus, every time the Executive arm is raised to strike the military blow, it is paralyzed. What civil remedy will compensate for disaster, restore life to the fallen dead, or replenish the captured stores? Yet all this wrong is done on loyal territory, where, it is said, no military authority can or will be permitted, from a want of constitutional power to arrest the guilty author of disaster, and prevent its recurrence.

If it be true doctrine, that because the offender stands on loyal ground, when he blocks the wheels of war, and brings defeat on our armies, or paralyzes the effort of suppressing force, and no power can be exercised under the military authority, the effort of the Government may cease; for such a doctrine strikes down its ability to bring the war to a successful conclusion. * * * *

In the name of patriotism, public safety and justice, can it be that, when the mere property of an individual is invaded, a petty officer, on suspicion or bare information, may arrest without warrant; yet when treason, the highest crime against society and law, runs riot, when a dangerous rebellion and civil war are raging, and the very life of the nation is endangered, the highest officer in the Government, armed with supreme authority to quell insurrection, and cause the laws to be executed; sworn, not merely to support, but to protect and defend the Constitution; cannot seize or imprison, without clear proof and judicial warrant, those who spread disaffection, cause mutiny, bring disaster on our arms, aid and abet rebels and traitors, and paralyze the very arm he is using to subdue rebellion!

Without further discussion, let me test the provisions of these clauses by an example or two.

In the loyal State of New York, a secret mail exists, and letters to rebeldom are sent by sea, or posted by land. The mail-bag is aboard the vessel, or has reached the shore of the Potomac. According to the doctrine of peace, the traitorous pouch cannot be searched, the papers cannot be seized, nor the postman arrested, until a warrant is issued in due form of law; by which time the vessel has sailed, or the carrier has crossed and delivered the mail. So a vessel may be in loyal waters, filled with contraband of war; but the doctrine of loyal soil forbids its detention without due process of law.

Thus, illustration might be heaped upon illustration, of the protection these clauses of the Constitution, quoted by Governor Seymour, afford to the cause of the rebels, if they are to be construed by the doctrines of peace. * * * *

But it is said there can be no emergency in the affairs of a people, wherein martial law can be declared beyond the limits of a particular district, and away from the actual field of army operations.

Therefore, says Governor Seymour, in his late message, "Martial law defines itself to be a law where war is. It limits its own jurisdiction by its very term." A very good definition, but wanting in the very marrow of it when it comes to the application. "Where war is." But where is war? Where are its effects, its influences, and its sources of supply? Is it where men are fighting only, or is the *nation* at war, the North on one side, the South on the other? It is one section against the other. If Northern soil has not deeply felt the iron tram of Mars and the horrors of conflict, it is its good fo

tune; not because his banner does not float over it. In its Federal aspect, ours is a nation, one and indivisible, and this is a civil war involving its entirety. "When in a republic (says Vattel, § 292) the nation is divided into two opposite parties, and both sides take up arms, this is called a civil war." "A civil war (says he) breaks the bands of society and government, or at least suspends their effect; it produces in the nation two independent parties, who consider each other enemies, and acknowledge no common judge." It is not where the ring of the musket and the roar of cannon are heard, that war is only; but its field of operations covers the whole domain of the nation. The disloyalist, who fills a vessel in New York harbor with arms for the South, on a trial for his treason, would find no pretext to save him, because the clangor of arms was not heard north of the Potomac.

THE MASON AND CONWAY CORRESPONDENCE.

The London *Times* publishes the following correspondence:—

Sir,—As part of the political history of the times, the correspondence transmitted herewith may have sufficient significance to call for its publication.

I submit it to you, accordingly, for a place in your columns.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,
J. M. MASON.

24, Upper Seymour-street, Portman square,
June 17, 1863.

AUBREY HOUSE, NOTTING HILL, LONDON,
June 10, 1863.

Sir,—I have authority to make the following proposition on behalf of the leading Anti-slavery men of America, who have sent me to this country.

If the States calling themselves "the Confederate States of America" will consent to emancipate the negro slaves in those States, such emancipation to be guaranteed by a liberal European commission, the emancipation to be inaugurated at once, and such time to be allowed for its completion as the commission shall adjudge to be necessary and just, and such emancipation once made to be irrevocable,—then the Abolitionists and Anti-slavery leaders of the Northern States shall immediately oppose the prosecution of the war on the part of the United States Government, and, since they hold the balance of power, will certainly cause the war to cease, by the immediate withdrawal of every kind of support from it.

I know that the ultimate decision upon so grave a proposition may require some time; but, meanwhile, I beg to be informed, at your early convenience, whether you will personally lend your influence in favor of a restoration of peace and the independence of the South, upon the simple basis of the emancipation of the slaves.

Any guarantee of my own responsibility, and my right to make this offer, shall be forthcoming.

I am, sir, yours, &c.
J. M. Mason, Esq. MONCURE D. CONWAY.

24, UPPER SEYMOUR S'T, PORTMAN SQUARE,
June 11, 1863.

Sir,—I have your note of yesterday. The proposition it contains is certainly worthy of the gravest consideration; provided it is made under a proper responsibility. Yet you must be aware that, while you know fully the representative position you occupy, I have not the like assurance as regards yourself.

If you think proper, therefore, to communicate to me who those are on whose behalf and authority you make the proposition referred to, with the evidence of your "right to make this offer," I will, at once, give you my reply, the character of which, however, must depend on what I may learn of your authority in the premises.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,
J. M. MASON.

Moncure D. Conway, Esq.

AUBREY HOUSE, NOTTING-HILL,
June 16, 1863.

Sir,—Your note of the 11th has been received.

I could easily give you the evidence that I represent the views of the leading Abolitionists of America, but with regard to the special offer which I have made, I have concluded that it was best to write out to America, and obtain the evidence of my right to make it in a form which will preclude any doubt as to its sufficiency.

I shall then address you again on the subject.

I am, &c., MONCURE D. CONWAY.
J. M. Mason, Esq.

24, UPPER SEYMOUR S'T, PORTMAN SQUARE,
June 17, 1863.

Sir,—I have received your note of yesterday.

You need not write to America to obtain the evidence of your right to treat on the matter it imports. Our correspondence closes with this reply. It was your pleasure to commence it, it is mine to terminate it.

I desired to know who they were who were responsible for your mission to England, as you present it; and who were to confirm the treaty you proposed to make for arresting the war in America, on a basis of a separation of the States, with or without the sanction of their Government. But such information is of less value now, as I find from an advertisement in the journals of the day that you have brought to England letters of sufficient credit from those who sent you, to invite a public meeting in London, under the sanction of a member of Parliament, who was to preside, to hear an address from you on the subject of your mission, with the promise of a like address from him.

This correspondence shall go to the public, and will find its way to the country, a class of the citizens of which you claim to represent. It will, perhaps, interest the Government and the *soi-disant* "loyal men" there to know, under the sanction of your name, that the "leading anti-slavery men in America" are prepared to negotiate with the authorities of the Confederate States for a "restoration of peace and the independence of the South, on a pledge that the Abolitionists and Anti slavery leaders of the Northern States shall immediately oppose the further prosecution of the war on the part of the United States Government and since they hold the balance of power, will certainly cause the war to cease, by the immediate withdrawal of every kind of support from it.

As some reward, however, for this interesting disclosure, your inquiry, whether the Confederate States will consent to emancipate on the terms stated, shall not go wholly unanswered. You may be assured, then, and perhaps it may be of value to your constituents to assure them, that the Northern States will never be in relations to put this question to the South, nor will the Southern States ever be in a position requiring them to give an answer.

I am, sir, your most obedient servant.
Moncure D. Conway, Esq. J. M. MASON.

ANOTHER LETTER FROM MR. CONWAY.

Rev. M. D. Conway publishes the following letter in the *Times*, explaining his correspondence with Mason:

"*To the Editor of the London Times*:

"Sir—Absence from London has prevented my giving such careful attention to the correspondence between Mr. Mason and myself as was necessary to make the explanation which the public on both sides of the ocean will naturally expect of me.

"In the correspondence as it stands, there are three parties involved—namely, the abolitionists of America, myself, and Mr. Mason with his Confederates.

"As to the first, it was to pounce upon them and compromise them with their government that Mr. Mason rushed into print so eagerly that, though only a little way from London, I did not receive his last letter until half a day after I had seen it in the *Times*. But I wonder that Mr. Mason did not see, what the Americans will certainly see, that my second note to him admits that my authority extended definitely only to the declaration, that the abolitionists of America were giving moral support to this war simply and only in the interest of emancipation, and that when that issue ceased to be involved, they would no longer sustain it; but that, with regard to the special offer,' I must write out and get a special authority. This left it an open question whether the leading anti-slavery men were 'prepared to negotiate with the Confederate authorities.' He springs his snare before they are in it. They are not compromised at all. They do, indeed, stand committed to an unwillingness to prosecute this terrible war for any less important aim than the complete wiping out of their country's crime and shame, but it has all along been their avowed position that they are, to quote Wendell Phillips, 'willing to accept anything, union or disunion, on the basis of emancipation.'

"Then, of the abolitionists, I alone am implicated by this correspondence. And here I am ready to confess that my inexperience in diplomatic and political affairs has led me to make a proposition, the form of which is objectionable. Recognising Mr. Mason only as an unofficial though representative Southerner, whose views would be a test of the disposition of the rebels on the subject of slavery, and anxious to afford that test to certain very eminent literary men in England, who acknowledged that the reply to such a proposition would decide their feelings with regard to the issue, I inferred hastily and improperly that the right to declare the object of the abolitionists in the war justified me in sending the proposition to Mr. Mason personally. As this, my first 'correspondence with the enemy,' was undertaken only in the interest of my country, and was virtually a demand for the surrender of the enemy's capital, I shall hope that the apparent disloyalty of it, of which I was unconscious, will be condoned by the country I mean to serve.

"But Mr. Mason and his confederates are implicated in this matter in a way to which I desire to call the attention of those gentlemen, to satisfy whose minds I wrote the proposition, and of all others who think that the South is fighting for any worthier independence than impunity in permanently robbing another race of its independence.

"In order to compromise the abolitionists, Mr. Mason concedes that I had authority to make the offer of independence for emancipation. He acknowledges, on the strength of Mr. Garrison's letter of credit, that I had that authorization to which, when shown him, he had promised a reply. So the English public know now, with a clearness which my own blundering way of evoking such a confession did not merit, what the reply of the South is to a proposition offering her 'freedom,' as she calls it, on the condition of her according the same to the millions whom she oppresses. Whether I had a right to make the offer or not, it is answered. The believer in the golden rule has only to ask himself what would be his interest in the success of the Northern arms if his own wife and children were today under the lash on a plantation, now that we have Mr. Mason's assurance that every gateway except that of war is closed.

"I am, &c., MONCURE D. CONWAY.
"Aubrey House, Notting Hill, W., June 22."

MR. CONWAY AND HIS OVERTURE.

Introduced to this country as an anti-slavery agitator, Mr. Conway has suddenly appeared in the character of an ambassador. Representing himself as authorised to speak for the leading Abolitionists, he delivered on the 10th of June a message of peace to Mr. Mason. Recognising that gentleman as the accredited agent of so-called "Confederate States," he offered to terminate the war upon the sole condition of emancipation. Of course he did not couch his proposal in so many words. But with the frankness proper to an amateur diplomatist, he explained exactly the position he conceived himself to occupy, and the offer he believed himself competent to make. In the name of the leading Anti-slavery men of America, he undertook that they and the whole Abolitionist party,—holding, as he says, the balance of political power in the North—should oppose the further prosecution of the war, on condition of the Confederate States agreeing to abolish slavery, at once or gradually, under the guarantees of a European commission. As might have been expected, Mr. Mason neither accepted nor declined the offer. With the acuteness becoming an ambassador, he invited evidence of Mr. Conway's authority to make so important a proposition. Whether there was not craft as well as cleverness in the unasked assurance that the character of the reply would depend upon the nature of this authority, may presently be seen. He wrote upon the 11th; Mr. Conway, for some unexplained reason, did not reply till the 16th, the day on which he was announced to speak at the London Tavern. In this note he intimated that he had written out to America for the evidence required, and had no doubt that its production would preclude all question as to the sufficiency of his authority. But in the newspapers next morning, Mr. Mason found exactly what he wanted. The letter from Mr. Wm. Lloyd Garrison, read by Mr. Bright, was evidence enough that Mr. Conway had a general authority to represent the Abolitionists. Instantly he closes the trap. In what his admirers will regard as a crushing rejoinder, he scornfully rejects all overtures of peace, either from the Northern Government or any class of Northern citizens, and with insolent candor informs his correspondent that he desired only to know who were responsible for his mission, and who would confirm the treaty he proposed to make. Contrary to the custom of gentlemen in this country, he anticipated Mr. Conway in making public the correspondence, and threatens that it shall "find its way to the country, a class of whose citizens you claim to represent." But in all this, Mr. Mason is evidently unconscious of, or unconcerned at, the possibility that honest, simple-minded Mr. Conway may have been baiting a trap for *him*,—and that the threatened penalty of exposure to obloquy at home may be very complacently suffered by one whose real object was to draw from Mr. Mason a refusal, expressed or implied, to stop the horrors of war by an act in which the United States have no more interest than humanity at large.

Whether or not that was Mr. Conway's object, it is the effect of Mr. Mason's letter, and as such it should be prized by the English friends of union and emancipation. It is the fashion here to deny that the war is being prosecuted by the North for the abolition of slavery, and to assert that the South would use its independence to confer freedom upon its bondsmen. To the English public, therefore, it may be useful to have a distinct proof that to men of considerable influence in the North, emancipation would be a sure ground of peace, and that the Confederate representative spurns the idea of purchasing political independence by relinquishing property in human beings. This humanitarian aspect of the American conflict is that which commands the largest share of attention in Europe. Strong as are the sympathies of all true Liberals, in this country and on the Continent, with the Union, yet stronger, because both wider and deeper, are the feelings excited by a contest for the personal liberty of four millions of men and women. In the face of Mr. Conway's offer and Mr. Mason's reply, it is impossible to pretend that the South cares for independence, except as a means of perpetuating slavery. Mr. Conway may be disclaimed. He may have no such authority as that which he assumes. He may have allowed his personal feelings to influence and mislead his ideas of public duty and responsibility. Seeing that he is a Virginian, not a Notherner—that he has many relatives and friends engaged in the deadly struggle—that the war inflicts continual wounds on his own heart—and that there is nothing he loves above peace, except freedom, and that the freedom of others—it is quite possible that he should have conceived himself authorised to make as a serious proposition that which otherwise could be understood only as a polemical trick. But whatever the mistake on his part, there can be none as to Mr. Mason. It is perhaps well for Mr. Conway and his friends, that that noble specimen of the Southern mind has suffered himself to be taken in his own craftiness. It would have been easy for so subtle and evidently unscrupulous a personage to temporise with the offer, and by a few vague expressions of desire to be rid of slavery seriously to retard the still rising sympathies of Englishmen with the cause of the North. But he has overreached himself in the cold-blooded pride of his plutocracy of color. He has declared that the South will make no terms with the powers that insist on freedom as the condition of peace. He throws back the enemies of slavery irretrievably upon the forces of the Union. It can no more be denied that the triumph of the North is indispensable to the liberation of the slave. In the nature of things, it must be so. Mr. Conway and his friends must be under a great delusion if they honestly suppose that the South can decree emancipation. Uncompensated freedom to the slave would be ruin to the slaveholder; and whence is to come compensation but from the Federal treasury? From the moment that the planters became rebels, the cause of the negro became hopeful. As the rebellion became obstinate, freedom became safe. Mr. Conway need not now ask the South to consent to emancipation. It has been proclaimed by the President of the Republic—and to give effect to the proclamation, loyal citizens have but to unite in unfaltering support of the President. The day has passed for the restoration of the Union with slavery. The day can never come for the Union to be sacrificed that slavery may be abolished.—*London Star.*

SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS, ESQ.

AT FRAMINGHAM, JULY 4, 1863.

[REVISED BY THE AUTHOR.]

This is the Fourth day of July; a day of hope, a day when every man who believes in ideas and the people has a historical right to hope; a day whose lesson is, that the weakest handful of men, fighting in a just cause, are invincible. To us, therefore, with millions on our side, with untouched resources, and the noblest cause in the world, the lesson of to-day is the certainty of success. (Applause.) Our fathers launched their frail ship on the stormy waters of Democracy, nailing to the mast, "All men are equal." They "builded better than they knew." It is not only probable, it is certain, that they did not understand the full meaning of the motto under which the nation came into existence; but I think (putting the leaders out of the question) we may fairly assume that the mass of our ancestors in 1776 honestly endeavored to practise so much of that motto as they understood. It was a brave, serene faith in an untried law. To-day, God holds to our lips the strong meat of that gospel which was but milk in the baby days of our fathers—the strong meat. Let us see to it, that in the day of our strength we exhibit as brave a faith in this noon of the gospel as our fathers did in the trying hour of its twilight. Hope is the lesson of to-day.

Before I proceed to speak of some of the reasons why I hope, let me say one word in reference to my friend, Mr. Conway. I think his intentions were as honest as this mid-day sun is clear. [Hear, hear, and applause.] I think his devotion to the great cause of human liberty is as single-hearted as when he took his father's fifty slaves, every one of their holders a rebel but himself, and led them, with such devoted and self-sacrificing earnestness, to freedom, on the northern banks of the Ohio. [Loud applause.] I know, at the same time, that he does not represent in that offer one single man on this side of the Atlantic. [Hear, hear, and applause.] I do not say I *believe* it; but I say—my own knowledge joined to his—I *know* it. Now, I wish to say, further, that I entirely agree with the essence which underlies that offer. The Union without liberty is to-day ten-fold more accursed than it was any time the last quarter of a century. [Applause.] Union without liberty I spit upon, as the subjugation of the North and the eclipse of the nineteenth century. Disunion with liberty is an impossibility. These two are the articles of my faith. At the same time, the reason why I would not have made that offer is this: there is no slave in the Confederate States for the Confederates to free, if they had a mind to. Every negro in the fourteen rebellious States was freed by the proclamation, except those whom events had freed before. That is the law of the only Government existing on this Northern Continent, and it is the law of a Government which has the power to execute its will. There is no slavery, therefore, about which the Abolitionists could treat, if they had a mind to, with the Confederate rebels. And as for treating with MASON, if the sun were forbidden ever again to rise in the morning, and I could have sunrise again by asking MASON, I would remain in the dark forever, rather than speak to the author of the Fugitive Slave Bill. (Loud applause.) That is my view of the offer of Mr. CONWAY, on the supposed behalf of the Abolitionists.

I said this was a day of hope. How shall I show you that? In order to do so, where shall I begin? The best way is to examine the enemy. We have two enemies. The great, honest, liberty-seeking millions of this Union have two enemies. One is encamped at Richmond, and the other at Washington. I am about to examine both. I have no doubt of the final annihilation of the enemy at Richmond. Not because I believe in the success of General Dix. I think it an idle amusement to keep 50,000 men doing practically nothing on the Peninsula, while the banner of the Union staggers on the plains of Pennsylvania; for Richmond is not on the banks of the James River; Richmond hangs at the saddle-bow of Gen. Lee; whoever whips him, annihilates Richmond; and until he is beaten, Richmond is safe. If Dix takes Richmond, and Meade does not defeat Lee, we cannot hold it. If Meade defeats Lee, Richmond is ours—the bauble—whether Dix stays where he is, or comes to Washington. Now I have hope, strong hope, in the present attitude of the Union army in Pennsylvania. We have a sober man, a brave man, and an able man, at last, at the head of the Army of the Potomac. (Applause.) We never have had those three qualities united there before. Mark me! I am speaking of the commander in the field, not the one at Washington—Halleck. But there is one green spot, one oasis, in the barrenness of Halleck's utter incapacity, and that green spot is, he hates McClellan. (Laughter and applause.) I remember once, being in the office of a neighbor of mine, a worthless but boring fellow came in, and borrowed five dollars. I said to him—"What did you lend that fellow five dollars for? You know you will never get it again." "True," said he; "but then, he might have asked for ten." So, when you think of the utter, unredeemed, unfathomable incapacity of Halleck, remember—we might have had Mc Clellan! (Applause and laughter.) Put him out of the way. Let us hope that the idea of his incapacity will penetrate even the mind of the President.

But of the army, this is to be said. The Government was right, strange as it may seem, when it removed Gen. Hooker from an army encamped and marshalled in the face of the enemy. He lost Chancellorville battle for the same reason that we have lost so many battles—drink! Loving to fight, knowing how to fight, *cups* betrayed the banner of the Union on the other side of the Rappahannock; and when every one of his corps commanders, except Sickles, prayed him to stay, and fling 90,000 men on the broken ranks of 49,000, the shaken nerves of the commander-in-chief refused to do that duty; and if any man asks you why the army of the Union, untouched, with Fredericksburg safe in its left hand, yielded those fortifications and retreated across the Rappahannock, tell him it was not rain, it was not the swollen floods of the river, it was not broken ranks, it was not disheartened Generals, for there was but one heart that failed, and that was the heart of Gen. Sickles, and there was but one brain that was wanting, and that was the brain of the commander-in-chief. The Government did right in removing that unsound timber from the ship of State, even when the storm was beating upon her.

The Government has given us, instead, the man whom every one of our corps commanders, except Sickles, wishes to have at the head of the army (applause;) an untarnished soldier, with the full confidence of the ablest men about him; with a record without a blot; with capacity and a heart; and now, if he fought 500 miles from Washington instead of 50, I should have no doubt of his victory. But I have no doubt of the final victory of the arms of the Union, because, with ability at the head, with courage in the ranks, with necessity behind them, there is nothing left for the North but to annihilate or to conquer. So much is my satisfaction with things in the camp. Though Banks's civil administration has been proslavery, and a failure, he seems, if late accounts be true, as a soldier, to have outdone himself; Grant has done justice to his record; Rosecrans will move and conquer, as he always has done, the moment Washington unties his hands. (Applause.) No fear of the army; no fear, therefore, of Richmond.

Now let us examine the other headquarters of the enemy, at Washington. Why do I say so, when there are so many cheering elements in the action of the Government? I know these cheering elements as well as you do. Black troops in the field—thirty thousand black troops with the uniform of the Union, and under its flag, since we met here last year. Twenty years ago, the South endeavored to expel Adams from Congress, because they said he was giving color to an idea. He replied that he did not know what it meant. I will tell you: it means putting negroes into the ranks, to defend the idea of liberty. (Applause.) "Giving color to an idea!" (Laughter and applause.) Time has brought round its revenges; and what seemed to be an impossibility or nonsense, turns out to be a useful and necessary fact. At the same time, Washington, in my view, is the great obstacle to the success of the North in its endeavor to restore the power of the Union. I will tell you why. To begin with that stereotyped phrase, "the honesty of the President," I do not believe that Abraham Lincoln *consciously* makes the preservation of the Union second to any other object; but I believe, at the same time, that, misled by his ambition, deluded by artful counsellors, the Government at Washington to-day, instead of being a machine to carry on this war effectively, is nothing but a great National Committee to manage the next Presidential election. The war is to be carried on, but the idea at Washington is to carry it on subordinate to the chances of certain parties in the next Presidential canvass.

Now, I am not charging on the Republican leaders at Washington Copperheadism. That rank and file which, when it says, "the Constitution as it was," means, in fact, "the *Institution* as it was," is one thing; the mistaken one-quarter honest and three quarters wicked effort of the party at Washington is to save the Union, subordinate to certain selfish plans of their own. I linger on that statement, because I believe it constitutes the peril of the country. Hitherto, we have had only delay and inefficiency. Now, some men say, "Every step of the President, however long delayed, has resulted in benefit to the Anti-Slavery cause." I know it. When I look up and onward into the designs of Providence, I see as clearly as any man in this country or in Europe how good it has been that the Government has been composed of the most obstinate and ignorant men in this country. (Laughter.) Let no man leave this grove, after listening to me, with any notion that I do not fully appreciate that element in our nation's history. Therefore, when President Lincoln told a Massachusetts Committee—I being one of them—the last week of January, "Gentlemen, I know that I am to lose 200,000 men before the first day of July; I know that when they go out of the ranks, the Confederate will time his deadliest effort at that moment, and I mean before that time comes to put the 200,000 muskets which they drop, into the hands of the negroes of the Southern States"; when he told us that, the last week in January, pledging himself to have the work finished in sixty days, and when the 4th day of July bursts upon us with no more than 30,000 black men in arms—half of them forced on a reluctant Administration; knowing well the good that this Pennsylvania raid is to do—that it will kill out three copperheads for every Union and every Southern soldier that falls—knowing that, I still indict the Government for criminal delay, as conservators of the Union, in allowing the past five months to pass unemployed. Now, another thing. When I know from authority almost as good—next door to as good as that of the lips of the President himself—that to Butler, to Sigel, to Fremont and to Phelps, this Government has made distinct offers of employment, and been refused, in every instance, I know that it is neither the indolence nor the fastidiousness of these four men which keeps them out of the ranks of active employment, but it is the hidden and yet systematic purpose of the Government so to shape the conditions of such offers, that they shall be inevitably refused. Again, in the light of such a fact, I indict the Government of criminal inefficiency, surrounded by such ample and magnificent weapons which they are unwilling to use; recognizing, all the while, that they cannot be so slow, and they cannot be so inefficient, as finally to peril the National cause. This cause cannot fail, because God is on its side; it cannot fail, because brains are against brutes; and in the end, justice and intellect must conquer. Events are so imperative and overwhelming, that even that Cabinet, inefficient as it is, cannot resist them. If you go to the Cataract of Niagara, they will tell you that a heavy mass of iron, lodged on its surface, cannot sink. Niagara tosses it like a chip, and bears it onward. The Cabinet is unredeemed inefficiency—heavy as molten and doubly hammered iron; but in the Niagara of 1863, it is tossed upward like a chip. (Prolonged applause.) No thanks to it, but to the Niagara that will not be resisted! (Renewed applause.)

But why do I call the Government only a Committee to manage the next Presidential election? I will tell you. I am going to read to you some passages from a little speech, by a little man, at a great meeting, where nobody listened to him (laughter); and yet it is a great speech in its significance. The Blair family has no consequence of its own. It is the fungus growth of the "kitchen Cabinet" of Andrew Jackson, (laughter,) and its existence is that of parasites hanging on the stateliest trees of the forest, which they poison. But, at the same time, this speech of the Postmaster is of great significance. It was prepared in the city of Washington, and elaborately written out there. The manuscript was subjected to the criticism of others, and interlined in another ink by another hand, before the schoolboy speaker was allowed to leave with his lesson well conned in his pocket. A Cabinet officer, he goes express to the capital of New Hampshire, makes his speech, and, without waiting to dine, expresses himself back to Washington, while in Concord he personally superintends its printing and mails slips to Boston and New York. No member of the Administration does all that—foregoing dinners to correct types—merely to make a speech. A great Government does not allow its representatives to throw away their time in that manner. The man—our Postmaster General—who last Spring approached Henry Wilson, and wished to know of that most experienced wire puller in New England whether it was yet time to put Abraham Lincoln in nomination for another term—(A Voice—"That time will never come")—goes in the Summer to Concord, with his credentials in his pocket, and makes this speech. It has a significance as the action of the Government, as the programme of the future, as the great effort of the Administration, to perpetuate its power. Now I, for one, have no objection to the Presidency of Abraham Lincoln for four or eight years longer. I told him myself, and I believed it then and I believe it now—I meant it then and I mean it now—that the man who would honestly put his right hand to the plow of that proclamation, and execute it, this people would not allow to quit while the experiment was trying. (Applause.) Whoever starts the great experiment of emancipation, and honestly devotes his energies to making it a fact, deserves to hold the helm of the Government until that experiment is finished. But this programme is a different one. The meaning of this speech, of which I want to read to you a few extracts, is this. In the future, there are to be two candidates; Butler is to be one, something like Seymour or McClellan is to be the other. Radicalism is one point, peace Democracy is the other. Republicanism, specifically, has sunk below any point that plummet ever sounded (applause;) and in the future, a radical man and a peace Democrat are to bear up rival banners. This speech of the Postmaster General is Abraham Lincoln's effort to run between the parties—a compromise candidate. Again, I have no objection to that—mark you! I have so sublime a contempt for the level of Washington offices, that I am willing the very men who hold them shall hold them in perpetuity—themselves and their heirs and assigns forever, (laughter,) provided that in those offices they will honestly do the work of the people and the age. But this speech is the bid of a hybrid politician, born betwixt the upper millstone of the North and the lower millstone of the South, pandering to the prejudices of hunkerism—the worst obstacles to the war, in order that he may continue to feed at the public crib. What is it? I will tell you. It is an attempt to evade the proclamation without saying so. It is a clumsy attempt to do what was adroitly done by Chief-Justice Taney when he made the Dred Scott decision; an attempt to smother and crush the opinion of Attorney-General Bates—that a negro is a citizen. It is an attempt to foist the Dred Scott decision upon the proclamation of January 1st. The tone of the speech is this: The negro is inferior to us. But we cannot conquer without him, and after that, the country needs his labor. He must fight for us; he must work for us. When he has done it, there is no place for him in the country. He must fight to make the nation safe; he must work to make it rich. When he has done so, we kick him out of the States. After using his blood and toil, we must colonize the whole race, and we whites will enjoy in solitary dignity the wealth and the peace that the negro's strength has helped us to win. What an unutterably mean way to acquire title to a country! I know nothing like it but the claim of the New Zealand Chief, who said, "I have a clear title to this land, for I ate the former proprietor."

Says the Postmaster-General—after some talk of Calhoun, in which he does me the honor to mingle me up—"The negro will enlist in the war." Then he is to make the public works, canals from New Orleans to the five great lakes. When it is done—what? He is to furnish the halter, build the gallows, and then hang himself on it! He is to save the country, he is to enrich the country, and then he is to *leave the country!* And who is it that asks this of him? Why, a race that Mr. Blair calls "the dominant and domineering race,"—that is, the governing race. A governing race that cannot govern—a superior race that cannot fight—a brain race that cannot work—they ask the negro to fight, they ask the negro to work, proclaiming beforehand that there is no help for him, no place for him here. An English peer once accepted the offer of a plebeian's carriage to ride home on a rainy day. Stepping in, shutting the door after him, he looked out of the window, and said: "But, pray, how will you get home, sir?" (Laughter.) This cabinet, driven to the wall, acknowledging that they have no help but in the black man's right hand, summoning the negro in the Carolinas and the South-West to uphold the banner, sends its hybrid postmaster to tell the people of Concord that the Constitution is so framed that there is no place for the black man on the continent. If that is a white man, God defend me from being white! (Loud applause.) Do you accept that representative of the race? ("No," "No.") And yet, that is the President's bid for the next nomination! That is the bid which is to marshal behind him the Border States, half awake, understanding fifty per cent of the 19th century, and for the rest dead and buried in the 16th. That is the bid for the peace Democrats, who want to get rid of the negro any way. That is the bid for the half-awake Republicans, who would be glad of any issue out of this strife. That is the bid.

Now let me read you a letter. Remember the Cabinet, at Concord, in the month of June, 1863, says to the world, "We can't exist unless the black race fights for us; the country won't be rich unless it works for us." When the fighting and working are over, this Cabinet, which cannot stand without black help, on its own continent, tumbles over in the attempt to kick its defenders off. Now let me read you a letter. It was written by a man who left Boston a hunker, and went down to the southwest, to Port Hudson and Vicksburg. He writes to me, who never heard of him, and whom he never knew, because his heart wanted somebody to whom to pour out its fulness:—

"As an Abolitionist, you never had my sympathy. I thought you rather overdid the thing. I came to this department eminently 'Conservative.' Since I came, I have travelled hundreds of miles, and can only say the truth has not been half told. A quire of paper would not hold all I have to tell you of the institution for which the Southern States are avowedly in arms to-day. I say avowedly. The thing resolves itself down very fine. We ask a captured rebel, 'What are you fighting for?' 'Our rights!' 'What are your rights?' 'Niggers!' When the advance was made on Port Hudson, a negro brigade was under the command of Gen. Dwight—a Boston man. He placed them in the most dangerous position on our whole line of attack. Before they went in, it was an unsettled question whether the blacks would fight. Many thought they would not. That question is forever settled, and to-day, in the Department of the Gulf, there are no opponents to the enlistment of colored troops. No matter what the feeling once was, *the Northern soldiery are to day proud of their colored allies.* There had once been much ill blood manifested on account of a colored regiment (1st Louisiana Native Guards) being managed by colored officers of the line. When the test came, they silenced opposition by surpassing their white brethren in the almost recklessness of their bravery. The blacks have known the day of their redemption was coming—the Yankee name has been used to terrify them—but there was a deeper instinct which told them of coming freedom. Oh, thrust the truth down the throats of the weak ones of the North, that though they fail in sustaining the Union, there will be an army here which will uphold it, armed with Union muskets and a deep-seated faith in the justice of their cause, and the power of God! (Prolonged cheering.) There are half a million who support the Confederacy with the hoe; only open a door, and that hoe will be a musket, and they will hold the rebellion by the throat. My dear sir, this war of God has hardly begun. Tell the North if they will not save the country, the blacks will. I entreat you, when you talk to Boston, remember the brave, educated Callioux, who made boast of the blackest skin, falling with his face to the foe in advance of his company. Remember young sargent Plencencieo Anselmo, who hugged the stars and stripes to his heart as he fell, stanching the white stars and suffusing the stripes with his blood; and those six charges—where they were mowed down like grain—all for a country which had sinned against them so much. Thrill the whites with shame, if you can!"

That is the black of the Southwest; and this (holding up Blair's speech) is the huckstering politician of the Cabinet, who says that there is no place on the Continent for such. (Prolonged cheering.) General Butler said to me: "I had 4,000 blacks; they saved me New Orleans." And this Cabinet proposes to colonize them! Colonize them! You might as well, when the thief enters your front door, colonize your revolver. (Laughter.) Colonize them! That Cabinet would have been fugitives to the Empire State of New York to-day, but for the blacks and the friends of the blacks, who stood behind it. Now, what I want to say is this. Mr. Blair says the Author of the Declaration of Independence and his associates, declared equal rights impracticable, in a society constituted of different races. It is a very grave charge I am about to make, but I say—remembering Judge Taney's bad law and false history in the Dred Scott case distinctly—that that sentence is the most stupendous lie of the century. (Applause.) Let no man hereafter charge the Cabinet at Washington with want of courage. By the side of the man who made that statement, Munchausen sinks into a tame and timid romancer. (Laughter and loud applause.) Jefferson—the author of the Declaration of Independence—the greatest words he ever wrote were, that "all men are created equal." The greatest statute he ever drew was the ordinance of 1787, which secured liberty to all races northwest of the Ohio. The greatest act of his life—long before colonization was dreamed of—was his effort to emancipate every slave in Virginia, and he persisted with it so long that they did not dare to hold a State Convention to revise the Constitution until after he was dead. That is the man who Mr. Blair says declared it to be impracticable for different races to live together on equal terms on the same continent! A few chance words of the desponding close of Jefferson's life are never to be measured against the consistent and continued action of his whole vigorous life. Mr. Blair's statement relates to Jefferson the statesman, the head for many years of a great political party, President and Law-maker. All his action as such repudiates Mr. Blair's theory and assertion. But Mr. Blair says, "the author of the Declaration and his associates." Who were his associates? The founders of the great States of Pennsylvania, New England, and New York, the mother States of the continent. Impracticable for races to live together! Why, in 1780, Massachusetts and Pennsylvania began a race, and since that every State born of their loins has joined in it, to make the blacks and the whites equal. No class among the founders of the Republic, during the revolution, or for thirty years after, gave heed to any such suicidal absurdity as colonization. No men of mark denied then the possibility of the two races living equally and peaceably together. Again, Mr. Blair says, that if the war should cease, the white slaveholder of the Southern States would cut every black man's throat before he would associate with him. I would stake every dollar I own to-day that Alexander H. Stephens and Jefferson Davis would rather, ten thousand times, associate with Robert Small and Captain Callioux, than with a mongrel politician, content, according to his own showing, to owe liberty and a country to the vigor of the negroes—yet mean enough to plot to swindle them out of their share of the good things they have won. (Applause.) The poor white trash of the Border States, however varnished into seeming and short-lived respectability by Federal office, can never climb so high in the opinion of the slaveholders as their own brave slaves—never. The West Indies prove that white slaveholders live in peace, and on terms of social and civil equality, with black slaves whom they have been compelled to free. European history for the last 400 years attests the same truth.

Now, friends, you may think it waste of powder to fire at nothing—the Postmaster General. But no. Negrophobia is the worst enemy this Union faces to-day. When that man, I was going to say, in order to pander to his base prejudice against the black man, based his hopes of success on pulling that string, he aimed the most artful blow at the safety of the State. But to trace the speech to sincere prejudice against the blacks is giving it too dignified a motive. Ignorant as the Cabinet is, it is not so ignorant of the nineteenth century as not to know, that the basis of that speech is false in history, and false in philosophy, too. Prejudice against the negro is a high-minded and honorable motive, compared with the motive that was father of that speech—a base pandering to a prejudice which he did not share, in order to secure himself four more years of office. That was the motive. Negrophobia is a cord which has a great strength in the bosom of the country; let me dwell upon it a moment. It is foolish and useless in us to say, a truth, though it be, that no man with the slightest claim to the name of statesman, can ever utter here the word "colonization." That, no doubt, is true. But it is not because they believe in it that these men mention it. It is because they know, that in the unthinking masses they shall find a cord to work on to serve a base purpose. It is, therefore, to that mass we should address comments on a speech like this. For this nation to dig down the Alleghanies and fill them up again would be a wise and thrifty use of means, compared with colonizing four millions of workmen. But that is not the whole truth, either. There never was, in the whole history of the world, such a thing done as by peaceful, humane, and systematic plan to remove a race, with its own cooperation. Spain expelled the Moors, after four centuries of battle. This brainless Cabinet cannot defend its own country without the help of the blacks: of course, therefore, they are in no condition to prate of expelling them by battle. The Spanish precedent, therefore, does not serve. France expelled half a million of Huguenots by starvation, persecution and the gibbet. If this hybrid Cabinet wanted or dared to do that, they are not capable. England drove two millions of Irish from the shelter of her flag, by famine and cruelties. This nation does not propose, and if it were possible to propose such a plan, it could not execute it. The only method of colonization left is to devote the wealth of the nation to the making of itself bankrupt, by employing all its shipping to remove a race which, now five millions strong, doubles in twenty-five years, and whose removal leaves fourteen States without a laboring class. A hungry man eating his own hands would be our type. What is the creed of Abraham Lincoln, I cannot tell. Montgomery Blair is too well informed to believe in colonization. Honest colonizationists have been—but not since 1861 has there been any well-informed man so deluded, among those whom the Probate Court lets walk our streets.

This speech, therefore, is not an honest expression of opinion, but it is a base pandering to the lowest tier of ignorance, to defeat the very experiment which Providence is making to refine out in this furnace of war the hatred between races. Mr. Blair says, in a Munchausen, which is second only in magnitude to that which I have read, that the constitutions of these States are based on the idea of the country belonging to the white race. I defy him to show a line, or a word, or a syllable, or a comma, or a lie, even, in the past, which asserts any such thing. This country has no value, except as the home of all races. That is the idea underlying all our history. This speech says, races can never lie down together. Why, the whole North, with nineteen millions of tongues, says, "False!" From the Atlantic to the very borders of the Pacific, what are we? Irish and English, with their hands on each other's throats at home, serving under the same banner, to-day. French and English, hating each other like wild beasts for 400 years, serving under the same banner to-day. Germans, Scotch, Welsh, French, Spaniard, Italian—hounds, hunting each other on the other side the water for 500 years—their children are at the same schools, worshipping at the same altars, fighting under the same flag, dying for the same idea, mingling their blood in the same channel. By what logic is it made out that the black race is an exception to the law which governs all others? The whole North cries out on the libeler of the Christianity and civilization of the nineteenth century, who calls himself a Republican, and talks of "liberty, equality, and fraternity." (Prolonged and enthusiastic applause.)

Now, I am going to say something that I know will make the New York *Herald* use its small capitals and notes of admiration, (laughter,) and yet no well-informed man this side of China but believes it in the very core of his heart. That is, "amalgamation"—a word that the Northern apologist for slavery has always used so glibly, but which you never heard from a Southerner. Amalgamation! remember this, the youngest of you: that, on the 4th day of July, 1863, you heard a man say, that in the light of all history, in virtue of every page he ever read, he was an amalgamationist to the utmost extent. (Applause.) I have no hope for the future, as this country has no past, and Europe has no past, but in that sublime mingling of races which is God's own method of civilizing and elevating the world. (Loud applause.) Not the amalgamation of licentiousness, born of slavery—and the ruin of both races—but that gradual and harmonizing union, in honorable marriage, which has mingled all other races, and from which springs the present phase of European and Northern civilization. When, therefore, Montgomery Blair, in this speech, libels the amalgamation of races, and slanders the founders of the Constitution, he does what every well-informed man knows that he cannot be ignorant enough really to believe, and what every patriot knows was the basest work that a public man could do in this crisis of our national struggle. God, by the events of his Providence

to that dangerous and fast weakening prejudice, to loathsome ignorance, to all the worst enemies of the country, is not to be trusted as a leader. Gen. Butler said to me a fortnight ago—and this is the counterpart of loyalty to treason—Butler said to me, "I am no negro-lover, as you are, but before I ask a negro to fight for me, he shall have his rights!" (Prolonged applause.) I acknowledge such a man as that is a white man, and this speech of Blair's—the meanest kind of something else. If this is Republicanism, let us ardently pray God for the advent of Democracy. There can be nothing worse.

In this level of politics, there is no need of extra exertion. The Conways in England cannot hurt us—the rebels will listen to nothing except cannon balls; the politicians of the Cabinet cannot hurt us—they are only chips on the current of Niagara; the only danger is that we should mistake them for leaders. Remember that the people have a right to the truth. All you know, tell. Scatter the facts. Enable the people to govern, to checkmate the Cabinet. The next year is, as I believe, to be the climax of this struggle. Not that we are to conquer yet; a longer battle than that is before us; but the next year is to decide whether this is to remain a revolution, gallantly fought out on the battle-field, or whether there shall be an effort made by the cowards and traitors of the North to drag it into the maelstrom of politics. There are men who would stretch traitor hands over two hundred thousand patriot graves, and betray the present. Watch them! Not for the sake of personal defeat, but for the triumph of the idea. Judge Taney decreed that the negro had no place on this continent. Attorney-General Bates ground that doctrine to powder in his well-known Opinion. Lincoln repudiated it in the face of the world, when the nation's peril demanded the aid of all her sons. Hold him to it. His pledge has been sealed in the noble blood of hundreds of black heroes in the Carolinas and the Southwest. Judge Blair says that no enfranchised race can live on terms of equality in the same country with its old masters. False! The history of Europe for four centuries, and of the West Indies for thirty years, disprove it. The history of all the old States of the North, and the tendency of all the new ones, disprove it. Judge Blair says that our fathers intended this as the home of the white man. False! The avowals of every Northern and Southern statesman prior to 1820 disprove it. The perfect result of the mother States of the North and essential tendency of both the Federal Government and the Western States cut the lie in halves, as the Sub Treasury chisel does a counterfeit coin. Colonization is the remedy he proposes. No great race ever colonized its rival, except by whipping it out of the territory. This Government, staggering under the blows of an almost equal assailant, struggling for an existence which it confesses it must owe at last to the negro, is in no condition to imitate that example. If the evil, therefore, were real, whoever proposes colonization as a remedy is either ignorant or a cheat. The wickedness of the speech is, that the committee who wrote it believe neither in its philosophy nor its facts, but only pretend to, to serve a selfish end. The meanness of the speech is, that while the slave system we combat allowed the slave a share, though but a pittance, of the wealth he created, and a shelter, however wretched, under the government he built, this truck-and-dicker apostate proposes to use him till we be safe and rich, then turn him forth shelterless and without a penny! Rejoice, Buchanan, Arnold, and all Rebeldom, you did well in your little measure of wickedness; but your names grow white! This man, by his ingenious meanness—his littleness lost in the cabinet he speaks for—has contrived to make our name even more disgusting to the world than you did

become the right as well as the duty of the Government to put an end to slavery everywhere in our land. (Loud applause.) And so, especially in regard to the Confederacy, the proposition of Mr. Conway is simply absurd. He asks Mr. Mason to say whether he cannot get the Confederate powers to agree to abolish slavery in rebeldom. Why, slavery is already abolished in rebeldom by the fiat of ABRAHAM LINCOLN, President of the United States! (Prolonged applause.) There is no need of going to the author of the Fugitive Slave Law to make any inquiry on that subject.

You observe that our friend Conway assumes that he was empowered to make this overture. This is a very grave matter. I am very sorry that he was led, by any consideration, to make that statement, because he has no authority from anybody on this side of the Atlantic to make it. But let me say, I am satisfied he did not mean to utter an untruth in this matter, because I know that he wrote privately, some ten days or a fortnight ago, to this country, information to this effect:—"I have sent the following letter to Mr. Mason. Of course, he will reject the offer. My object is to make him show his hand, and convince the people of England that the Confederacy is expressly and solely to perpetuate slavery, and thus to cover him with confusion of face; and I want you to send over by the next steamer an endorsement of what I have done." This shows that he was ingenuous in his own mind about it; that he, by some strange infatuation, supposed that he really would get an endorsement, and therefore felt justified in saying, in advance, that he had got it. His object was to expose Mr. Mason and the Southern Confederacy; and he has simply made a very great blunder, and, instead of placing Mr. Mason on his back, he has put himself on his back. We all regret it very much.

I believe it is usual at a feast to keep the best wine for the last; but, on this occasion, we shall alter the programme, and let you have it at the outset. I have the pleasure of introducing WENDELL PHILLIPS, of Boston. [Mr. Phillips's speech appears elsewhere.]

After Mr. Phillips closed, Mr. GARRISON called the attention of the audience to Mr. Thomas Evans, a British operative whose influence has been very effective with the workingmen of England in vigorous opposition to the secession element in England, and who has now come to settle in this country. Yancey and Slidell made overtures to him to obtain his influence for the Confederate cause, but he utterly refused. And it was he who got up the meeting of the Lancashire operatives in favor of Pres. Lincoln and his Proclamation. Mr. Garrison then read testimonials from the associates of Mr. Evans in England, and from the American consul in Liverpool, and from the Temperance Society there, in regard to Mr. E's excellence of character, and his ardent efforts in behalf of this country, both for the emancipation of the slave and the perpetuity of the American Union. A warm and hearty recommendation of Mr. Evans to the friends of freedom in America was also read from the Union and Emancipation Society.

Mr. Garrison suggested the propriety of giving this poor, industrious man, who has just come here with a destitute family, something to help his commencing life in this land, not as a charity, but as a slight testimonial of the appreciation of his humble but efficient services in the cause of American liberty among the suffering and sorely tried operatives of Lancashire; and also of his manly integrity in spurning the bribe of Confederate gold.

THOMAS EVANS, at the request of Mr. Garrison, came upon the platform, and was received with applause. He said he was proud to stand among the friends of Anti-Slavery in America. He loved this country on account of the freedom that exists here. He believed that, considering the wide diffusion of education among this people, and the energy with which they are now carrying forward a movement for universal freedom, it could not be doubted that they would gain their point. He had knowledge of the fact that money was given to the poor English operatives to purchase their support to the Confederate cause. He had used his influence at home in favor of this country, and he felt himself an adopted son of America, after the kind welcome he had received. He hoped that the colored people would obtain their rights, and he would try to do his duty as a workingman and a citizen in his new residence in this country.

Mr. REMOND criticised some of the expressions which he understood to be used by Mr. Evans, and Mr. GARRISON, in reply, showed that Mr. Evans's language was misapprehended. While this debate was progressing, a contribution was taken for the benefit of our English friend.

THE HUTCHINSONS then sung a Temperance song, "King Alcohol," which was received with great applause, and the audience adjourned for dinner.

After an hour devoted to refreshment and recreation, the audience reassembled, and the President introduced to them E. H. HEYWOOD, Esq.

Mr. Heywood said—The American Revolution launched a principle upon this country, and the present crisis opens a new phase of it. We are beginning to see that we cannot override the laboring classes with impunity, cannot buy and sell and burn negroes without destroying ourselves. This Anglo-Saxon race which so vaunts itself is traced back to the time when Britons were slaves to Normans, and bore on the neck a collar engraved with their master's name. Africa has given bishops to the Church and rulers to the State, and she is yet to come up to a fitting recognition among the nations. The war in which we are now engaged is not at once to effect the abolition of slavery. Liberty, to succeed on this continent, must have a principle. The tendency of this experiment is not so regenerating as many suppose. Is not this people too much disposed to give up moral principle to carry a political point? Justice will assuredly succeed. She is above insurrections and rebellions. But unless we enlist her on our side, we shall fail. Instead of saying that Liberty is dependent on Union, I would rather choose, with Mr. Conway, to give up the Union for Liberty, if necessary.

SAMUEL MAY, Jr., from the Committee of Arrangements, proposed the following list of officers to complete the organization of the meeting, and it was adopted:—

Vice-Presidents,

O. W. ALBEE, Marlboro';
E. W. TWING, Springfield;
ALFRED WYMAN, Worcester;
NATHANIEL H. WHITING, Marshfield;
CHARLES LENOX REMOND, Salem;
WILLIAM WELLS BROWN, Cambridge;
CHARLES C. BURLEIGH, of Connecticut;
ANDREW T. FOSS, of New Hampshire;
RODNEY MOORE, of Rhode Island;
DARIUS M. ALLEN, of Ohio.

Secretaries,

SAMUEL MAY, Jr., Leicester.
WM. L. GARRISON, Jr., Dorchester.

Finance Committee,

E. D. DRAPER, Hopedale;
JOSHUA T. EVERETT, Princeton;
D. B. MOREY, Boston;
LEWIS FORD, West Brookfield;
DANIEL S. WHITNEY, Southboro';
Mrs. CAROLINE R. PUTNAM, Salem.

Mr. GARRISON reported that the amount raised for Thomas Evans was $34.

THE HUTCHINSONS sang "The Old Ship of State," to the great satisfaction of the assembly.

Mr. GARRISON announced (from the *Traveller Extra*) the news of a great combat and probable victory at Gettysburg, &c., and read a congratulatory address of President Lincoln to the country.

Three cheers "for Liberty, and for *the Union with Liberty*," were called for, and given with a will.

Rev. Mr. RICHARDSON, of Worcester, was next introduced to the audience. He said—This news is worth all the speeches we have heard. Let our hearts go up to God in praise. He giveth the victory.

A gentleman just asked me how an Orthodox minister could stand on an Abolition platform. I know no other platform worth standing on in this cause of freedom. I have stood on it for fifteen years. (Cheers.)

I wish to say a word on the subject of war. War has its laws. We have not met these laws in our conduct of this war. The mechanical forces, the law of strength, must govern in war. The rebels have always had the most men at a given point in this contest, and thus have won so many victories.

Of what avail is it that we have most men, if we do not apply them in the field to the forces of the enemy?

We are the minority in this struggle. The South has six millions, and all these against us. The Northern twenty-three millions are divided, only eleven millions having any heart in the work, and the influence of the other twelve millions is on the other side.

As to generalship in this war, if half our West Pointers had taken the other side, it would have saved us thousands of lives which have been expended in battle with no advantage or victory gained. The enemy has had immense advantages over us in generalship. Their leaders make war in earnest.

As to money. They have made money of rags to the extent of supplying such a currency as would answer the purposes of their people.

As to justice. The mass of the people have an enthusiasm in regard to the rightfulness of their cause. We have had no such national enthusiasm, and we have not acted so as to arouse it or to deserve victory.

There was one item that neither party said much about, the four million slaves. War is a trial of strength. The rebels had the slaves, and we did not try to take them away. We not only refused to use them, but sent them back when they escaped to us. We tried to fight the rebels constitutionally, even after they had repudiated the Constitution. Of course, we did not make much progress.

Why have we not conquered? We have called for the help of the black men only as cart-horses, not as men; and from military necessity, not from justice. To make these allies efficient and successful, we must acknowledge and repair the injuries heretofore done them.

The President's Proclamation is so much waste paper, unless we place ourselves heartily and actively on the side of the colored people.

Mr. R. continued for some time to speak in an eloquent manner, and to the great satisfaction of his hearers.

The Hutchinson Family, who were obliged to leave early, sang the spirited song, "Rally round the flag, boys," and concluded with a stanza from the Star Spangled Banner.

Mr. GARRISON read a notice that Col. Wild's African Brigade is rapidly filling up, and then introduced to the audience one whose testimony, he was sure, all would be glad to hear—Mrs. FRANCES D. GAGE, of Port Royal. This lady said—While the Hutchinsons were singing, I remembered this story. At the island of Fernandina, a meeting was held, and speeches made, to induce the colored men to enlist. One of them said, the flag of the United States had formerly been looked upon by them as the symbol of a hostile power. Under that, they had been held as slaves; under that, they had been hunted and captured as fugitives. Now, he rejoiced to believe, all this was changed. The stars and stripes now represented his country, and he would heartily defend them. The old flag was formerly in a state of *nater*, now it was in a state of grace!

Down in South Carolina, the first liberated slaves are living and working under the patronage of Gen. SAXTON—a man who had acquired the veneration and love of all who knew him. To that point—the harbor of Port Royal—God had led the philanthropist to do this work of giving a beginning to the education of the blacks. We have been at work two years, and the experiment is entirely successful. The negroes have their faults, mainly the product of slavery. But they are ready to be taught, to be lifted up, to be civilized, and to receive intellectual and religious instruction. They have a new language to learn, for their very power of speech has been corrupted by slavery. My son and myself lived in the midst of those colored people in perfect confidence and kindness. They had had scarcely any intercourse with white people before. They were poor and needy. Two crops had been nearly or quite failures. I made an effort for their relief. My appeal for one box of clothing brought twenty boxes. What was I to do with it? I had taken the ground that giving was not the best way to help these people. After consideration, I told them that the able-bodied must buy these things, while the old and feeble received them freely. I received a hundred dollars from these sales, and expending that in the purchase of new things from the North, I obtained from the sale of these $250.00, which is to be expended in like manner. I seek thus to create among them a feeling of the wants which appertain to civilized life, which they can then proceed to supply by their labor. I want for them also various other things. I want a well-educated girl as a teacher; and I want a well stocked grocery store established on Paris Island, that our people may not have to go six miles to Hilton Head, or twelve miles to Beaufort, for every little thing needful for their housekeeping.

These people are children, and need care and counsel; and many friends are helping me to purchase good things for them, and keep them out of the hands of speculators.

You have seen the picture of the slave's back, with the marks of the scourge. That is a picture of a man; but I have seen the backs and necks and breasts of many *women* thus scarred. A horrible amount of cruelty has prevailed there.

These slaves are raising the cotton to start your mills again. Let us help them to live, by placing the means of living within their reach. I am connected with no relief association. We have between four and five hundred colored people, and I shall return to them in a week or two. One of their songs says—"Oh, don't get weary waiting, brothers!" Let us take to heart this lesson.

C. C. BURLEIGH said—I stand here as much to bear my testimony as for any other reason. Some say, we have no right to ask Government to act against slavery, except from military necessity. Here two things are confounded together—the origin of authority and the ground of its use. The Governor rules because the people have voted for him; but his duty to do right in the administration, after he has been placed in it, comes from the law of justice, not at all from the will of the people.

When this rebellion broke out, the rebel communities ceased to be States, and lost all the authority to hold slaves which they had while remaining States.

SAMUEL MAY, Jr., of Leicester, said—Mr. President, I feel it my duty to call the attention of this assembly again to the matter of our friend Conway, and his letters to the Rebel envoy Mason. I say *our friend* Conway, for he is our friend, and the true friend of the Anti-Slavery cause, having given such proof of his friendship to it as is in the power of very few of us to give. But I lack words to express my astonishment that any Anti-Slavery American, in England or elsewhere, should allow himself to have any communication, much more seek any negotiation, with James M. Mason of Virginia, on any subject whatever. But when, besides that, he undertakes to commit the Anti-Slavery people of this country, or any portion of them, to a responsibility for his own extraordinary action, I cannot, for one, Sir, be silent; I must make my indignant protest. And, therefore, though it is as painful a duty as ever I undertook, I feel it to be my duty to offer here, in the first gathering of New England Abolitionists since the knowledge of Mr. Conway's correspondence reached the country, some resolutions, and ask action thereupon, that it may be seen whether, and how far, we can be held to approve Mr. Conway's course in this matter. Sir, it seems to me a shame, be the motive what it might, that any loyal American, or any true Anti-Slavery man, should descend to treat or confer with any representative of the Slaveholders' Rebellion. It seems to me an almost unpardonable offence alike against loyalty and Anti-Slavery principle. Ask Anti Slavery action of James M. Mason! What can be thought of to match the absurdity! For one, I cannot, by silence, give even a seeming consent. I know that Mr. Conway spoke of "Anti-Slavery *leaders*," but I know, too, that there *are* no Anti-Slavery "leaders," in any sense which would justify any man among them in carrying propositions to a rebel agent in behalf of the Anti-Slavery people of this land. Instantly and indignantly, I believe, should we all disown any such leaders, and bid them speak for themselves alone. At least, I will utter my total dissent, and will now leave it to this meeting to express their minds.

Mr. May then read the two following resolutions:

Resolved, That this assembly of Anti-Slavery men and women, gathered from every part of New England, repudiates the act of Mr. M. D. Conway, in seeking any negotiation with James M. Mason of Virginia, father of the Fugitive Slave Law, and now agent in England of Slavery and the Rebellion; and we declare that in this whole matter he entirely misunderstands and misrepresents the Anti-Slavery people and sentiment of America.

Resolved, That neither as Americans nor as Abolitionists, in both which characters we stand openly before the world without compromise or concealment of any principle or purpose, will we ever consent that Peace shall be asked of Jefferson Davis, or of any of his slave-breeding associates; and we earnestly hope our Government will never stoop to treat with them in any other character than that of Rebels, Traitors, and Murderers.

A vote being called for, the President put the same, and a loud and universal *Aye* was given to the resolutions. The Noes being called, not a solitary voice in the great multitude present was raised against them.

Mr. GARRISON then introduced CHARLES LENOX REMOND to the meeting.

Mr. Remond said—The anti-slavery which does not recognize the entire equality of the colored man is of a spurious character. He thought it a mistake to accept as anti-slavery that which comes to our platform condescendingly. He would not buy anti-slavery at the price of his manhood and self-respect. Our friends must accept the negro from the crown of his head to the sole of his foot, before their anti-slavery will be worth having.

We want such direct, practical action as the proposal of S. S. Foster to hold fifty Conventions among the people of New England. I trust that a decision to this effect will be made here, and that pledges will be taken for its support.

When the rebels came into Pennsylvania, colored people offered their services, and were refused! Now that the State needs them, they are forbidden to leave, but are enrolled among the military.

Mr. MAY gave notice of the times of departure of trains, and also notice of the distribution of pledge papers from the Women's Loyal National League, and the Women's petitions for an immediate and complete abolition of slavery, prepared by the League. He also read from a note of Susan B. Anthony, its Secretary, describing the extensive work in which the League is engaged, and their purpose to present a petition to the next Congress bearing not less than a million of names. He also stated the League's need of funds, and gave notice that any contributions might be sent to Miss Anthony, at the office of the League, Room No. 20, Cooper Institute, New York.

Mr. GARRISON spoke of the national breadth and importance of the question of the right treatment of the colored population.

S. S. FOSTER made extended remarks on the nature of our position here to-day. He thought we were in danger of sinking the negro in the citizen, and declared that we have a controversy with Abraham Lincoln as well as with Jefferson Davis, until he "proclaim liberty throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof."

Mr. GARRISON wished to see a cheerful acquiescence in freedom and individuality on the part of the speakers on the platform.

His idea was, that slavery, and nothing else, is in rebellion, and the President has advanced as fast as public sentiment seemed prepared to sustain him. The whole South is in rebellion, and its motive is slavery. The Government *will* abolish slavery, and is slowly but steadily moving in that direction—as a necessity, if not on the high ground of moral principle. The slaveholders and slave-breeders oppose the President. Why is this but because he is practically opposing slavery? I go for the Government as opposed to the rebels. It is folly to talk of neutrality here.

F. B. SANBORN, Esq., editor of the *Commonwealth*, said that, in regard to the Conway-Mason correspondence, he wished a suspension of opinion until Mr. Conway can be heard in his own defence. He then made some comments upon Mr. Foster's speech, and an amicable debate ensued between those gentlemen.

Rev. ANDREW T. FOSS said he would willingly go to the war in any capacity, if the Government would accept him. He thought the Government had made great progress, and was still making progress, and that we could help it better by taking hold with it than by standing off and finding fault. Give the Government due credit for any good it may do, and criticise it for what remains to be done. I go for fifty, or one hundred, or five hundred Conventions, as many as may be necessary to push forward the people and the Government to the needful extent.

On motion of Mr. MAY, the meeting was then adjourned.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, *President.*

SAMUEL MAY, Jr.,
W. L. GARRISON, Jr., } *Secretaries.*

INDEPENDENCE DAY IN BOSTON. The eighty-seventh anniversary of American Independence was celebrated in this city, on Saturday last, by the ringing of bells, the firing of national salutes, balloon ascensions, fireworks, &c. Every thing went off happily, the city being thronged with visitors. An immense assembly filled the Academy of Music to hear the City Oration by Prof. Oliver Wendell Holmes, and warmly responded to its patriotic sentiments. For scholarly ability and eloquent utterance of the noblest sentiments, such as the times demand, and for searching analysis of the causes of the rebellion, it is worthy of high praise. It is the best oration, as a whole, ever delivered in Boston on the Fourth of July. We shall publish extracts from it hereafter.

EASTMAN'S WHITE MOUNTAIN GUIDE. We have received, through Messrs. Whipple & Smith, a copy of a new edition, the third, of Eastman's White Mountain Guide, which forms the most complete, accurate and reliable guide, yet published, to the Mountain Region of New Hampshire. Those before issued have been rather guide *to* than *through* the Mountains, containing plentiful descriptions of places on the way, but scanty account of views and interesting scenes, really the objects of the visit; but this has been carefully revised, and now seems so complete as to leave little room for improvement hereafter. Many additions have been made to the body of the book, and those errors which have been discovered have been corrected. A map, showing the route, has been prepared expressly for the book. A map of the mountain region, which will be found to be in every way reliable, also accompanies the volume, for which it was prepared by the engineer of the Mount Washington carriage road. Travellers to the mountain region owe a debt of gratitude to Mr. E. C. Eastman, of Concord, for this excellent Guide.

REBEL LEVY. An order is published in the Richmond papers for a levy, en masse, of all men within the arms-bearing ages in a military district of Virginia comprising Goochland and adjacent counties.

EDUCATION OF THE FREEDMEN.

FRIEND GARRISON—Permit me, through your columns, to say to a larger audience than that assembled at Framingham on the 4th, what I would have said there, had there been time. A few words on the education of the Freedmen, not of South Carolina only, but of these whole United or disunited States.

All true men and women are asking for the entire emancipation of all slaves now held in bondage in our country.

The Proclamation of President Lincoln has, it is said, given freedom to three millions, and that edict is taking effect as fast as our Federal army advances into the country of the foe, or the slaves can dare the dangers of escape from the masters.

From every point where Federal arms have been victorious, comes up the cry for help for the freedmen—help to educate and redeem them from the past.

By education I do not mean, simply, a demand for school-teachers, who shall go out among them, to teach from books, cards, or black boards. Education, as applied to the newly redeemed slaves of the plantation, means every thing but the knowing how to handle the hoe and cook the hominy.

The people of the North, judging from the specimens they have seen of escaping slaves, who were almost without an exception from the corps of house servants, or more favored hands, have but vague ideas of the real condition of the masses of field hands who are now to be taught how to adjust themselves to their new relations.

Mothers must be taught the duties and cares of motherhood and housekeepers—that houses were made for other purposes than simply to shelter at night or in a storm. Home and its joys, social life and its pleasures, domestic economy and its advantages, cleanliness and its accompanying benefits, industry and thrift, with their far-reaching powers, are as yet to them almost as much sealed books as the spelling-book, grammar, or geography.

What had the field hands to do with these things? Driven like beasts of burthen to the cotton task or corn patch in the morning—driven through the long hours of the day—driven back to their miserable shelter at night—to cook in weariness their pot of hominy, to eat, to lie down to sleep till the driver's horn or plantation bell aroused them at the first dawning of day—such was common slave life.

I meet many women who wish to engage in the work of educating the freedmen. They ask of me, "Are there any more teachers wanted at Port Royal?" I must answer Yes, for I know the demand is not fully met. But the Department of the South is far better supplied than any other. I know there are over sixty teachers of schools along the coast upon the different islands, who are doing good work under the patronage of various associations, or upon their own responsibility. There are fifty or sixty superintendents of plantations, and nearly every one is doing something in the way of education. There are a number of ministers and physicans, each doing his work as it best pleases him, for the good of souls and bodies. Those, then, who wish to engage in this labor for the good of the country, (for I consider it the work of the age,) must not all look to this one point, nor wait to have help from associations or combinations. I asked help from associations, at the outset, not knowing what else to do; but my application was so coldly met, that I resolved to become an association of one, and I found no difficulties insurmountable in the way. The lions were all chained when I resolutely approached them.

Now, to ladies who wish to engage in this work I would say—Seek your places of labor wherever there is work to be done. The coast of South Carolina, Georgia and Florida holds but a small number of freedmen yet, compared with the great mass. It is estimated that two hundred thousand are now within the lines of freedom, and more are coming every day. The President's Proclamation is not a dead thing—it is reaching thousands of ears, and giving life and hope to thousands of hearts, and any one who wishes to work and is brave enough for her work can find her place. New Orleans—the whole length of the Mississippi—the line of the Potomac—the Rappahannock—the coast of North Carolina and Virginia—but why do I multiply words? Where in all the Southern States will there not be needs, as soon as our soldiers have cleared the way? Four million to be cared for, helped, comforted, and taught the ways of freedom! The question will very soon be, not "Where shall I go?" but "Where am I the most needed, and where can I do the most good?" If our army is victorious, (and *I* do not even admit the necessity of an *if*,) every womanly energy will find an outlet in this noble work. Our forefathers said, "In time of peace prepare for war." Let us reverse the order, and in these times of war prepare for peace, by teaching the colored men and women to know their rights, that, knowing, they may dare maintain them. And it shall soon be said of all such, "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God."

FRANCES D. GAGE.

West Newton, July 5th, 1863.

P. S. I shall return to Port Royal by the 14th. Communications addressed to the care of the *Anti-Slavery Standard*, 48 Beekman street, New York, will reach me until that time.

WASHINGTON, (D. C.) July 6, 1863.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON:

HONORED SIR—A thousand thanks to you for your prompt disavowal (through the New York *Tribune*) of Mr. Conway's hasty and unpopular propositions to the rebel Mason, and for your particular manner of doing it. You have saved our common cause the odium of a treacherous disloyalty; you have once more committed the President, and the nation he represents, to the cause of the slave, and have, withal, done but little harm to Mr. Conway. A thousand thanks for it! Things are working, as the saying is, slowly but surely, and you and your co laborers have to steer the Anti-Slavery ship so as to outlive even a relapse, repulse, or a momentary defeat. Earnestness and perseverance, but not the haste of the two Messrs. Conways, are wanted.

Your most humble servant,

M. PINNER.

THE BOSTON DIRECTORY, for the year commencing July 1st, 1863, has appeared with the customary promptitude and accuracy of its enterprising publishers, and shows even more than their customary compactness. The type is somewhat smaller, and the price somewhat higher than last year, through the great advance in the price of paper. But the vast amount of information about men and things in the city, which is compressed into its 504 pages, makes it indispensable, alike to the business man and to his customers. Every family needs it weekly, every store, office and counting-house needs it daily.

This book is prepared by Adams, Sampson and Company, at the Directory Office, 91 Washington street. They take great pains to secure accurate intelligence in regard to the population, the business and institutions of the city, and their long experience in this work has enabled them to give us a Directory well-nigh perfect.

The number of names recorded last year was 55,292; this year we have 54,663.

Adams, Sampson & Co. publish Directories of fourteen cities, and keep an assortment of all the Directories published in the United States.

THE CONTINENTAL MONTHLY, for July, is received. This work is rapidly growing in favor with the reading community. The contents are as follows:—

Emancipation in Jamaica; Abijah Witherbee's Retreat; Reason, Rhyme, and Rhythm; Mrs. Rabotham's Party; Diary of Frances Krasinska; Ladies' Loyal League; West of the Mississippi; The Cavalier Theory Refuted; The Early Arbutus; The Third Year of the War; Was He Successful? The Chicago (Illinois) and other Canals; Woman.

GREAT VICTORY OF GEN. MEADE OVER GEN. LEE—THE REBEL INVADERS DRIVEN OUT OF PENNSYLVANIA!

The great contest between Lee's and Meade's forces in Pennsylvania commenced on Wednesday, July 1st, in the neighborhood of Gettysburg, and continued with slight intermission until July 4th. It was of the most desperate and sanguinary character,—the loss on both sides, in killed and wounded, being enormous; the result being a Waterloo defeat for Gen. Lee, and the loss of one third of his immense army, and the yet probable capture of many thousands more before they can effect their escape across the Potomac, in consequence of the sudden rising of that river by heavy rains. The route of the enemy is total, and the number of prisoners at least ten thousand. Joy and thanksgiving pervade the entire North. The gallant General Reynolds was killed early in the fight, and his loss is deeply lamented. Gen. Sickles has had his leg amputated. The notorious rebel Gen. Barksdale was killed. The loss of officers on both sides was large. Several Massachusetts Regiments participated in the conflict, and lost heavily, but we have no room for further particulars.

On Saturday forenoon, President Lincoln issued the following congratulatory address to the People of the United States:—

THE PRESIDENT TO THE COUNTRY.

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 4, 1863—10. 30 A. M

The President announces to the country that news from the Army of the Potomac up to 10 P.M. of the 3d, is such as to cover the army with the highest honor, to promise a great success to the cause of the Union, and to claim the condolence of all for the many gallant fallen; and that for this he especially desires that on this day, He whose will, not ours, should ever be done, be everywhere remembered and reverenced with profoundest gratitude.

(Signed) ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

VICKSBURG TAKEN!

After a siege of seven weeks, Vicksburg surrendered to Gen. Grant on the Fourth of July!

WASHINGTON, July 7, 1, P. M. The following despatch has been received:—

U.S. SQUADRON, FLAG-SHIP BLACK HAWK, July 4, 1863.

To Hon. Gideon Welles:

Sir,—I have the honor to inform you that Vicksburg has surrendered to the United States forces on this Fourth of July.

Very respectfully your obedient servant,

(Signed) D. D. PORTER,
Acting Rear Admiral.

WOMEN'S LOYAL NATIONAL LEAGUE. The ladies of New York have lately organized the "Women's Loyal National League," to act in coöperation with branches of the same established elsewhere, to procure the signatures of a million of men's and a million of women's names to a petition to Congress, in December next, for an act of general emancipation of all the slaves of the United States.

The League also proposes to publish for gratuitous circulation, tracts and articles written by distinguished men and women, on the great questions of the day.

A box for contributions in aid of the League has been placed in the store of Messrs. Ticknor & Fields. Any application for petitions, or for any information, made at the room of the League, No. 20, Cooper Institute, New York, will be promptly answered.

THE CHRISTIAN EXAMINER, for July, presents the following interesting table of contents:—

I. Conditions of Belief. II. Mrs. Browning's Essays on the Poets. III. Rome, Republican and Imperial. IV. The Pulpit in the Past. V. Kinglake and his Critics. VI. The Colenso Controversy. VII. Art and Artists of America. VIII. Review of Current Literature.

Walker, Wise & Co., 245 Washington Street.

FLAG PRESENTATION. Two sets of colors will be presented to the 55th (colored) Regiment on Saturday afternoon, at 3 o'clock. Parties will be in season by taking the 2.30 train at the Providence Depot. Gov. Andrew, and John M. Langton, Esq., the eloquent colored lawyer from Ohio, will present the flags. Wendell Phillips has also promised to be present. The regiment leaves for Newbern next Tuesday.

☞ E. H. HEYWOOD will speak in
West Wrentham, Sunday, July 12, at 10 1-2, A. M., and 1, P. M.
Sheldonville, " " at 5, P. M.
Milford, " July 19, at 2 1-2 and 7 1-2.

☞ MERCY B. JACKSON, M. D., has removed to 62 Dover street. Particular attention paid to Diseases of Women and Children.

References.—Luther Clark, M. D.; David Thayer, M. D.
Office hours from 2 to 4, P. M.

THE "PECULIAR INSTITUTION" ILLUSTRATED.

We have a photographic likeness of a Louisiana slave's back, taken five or six months after a terrible scourging, and exhibiting from the shoulders to the waist great welts and furrows raised or gouged by the lash, running crosswise and lengthwise—the victim himself presenting a noble countenance and fine physique. "This card photograph," says the New York *Independent*, "should be multiplied by one hundred thousand, and scattered over the States. It tells the story in a way that even Mrs. Stowe cannot approach, because it tells the story to the eye." Price 15 cents. Sent by mail, by enclosing postage stamp. Seven copies for one dollar, or $1,50 per dozen.

Address EDITOR OF THE LIBERATOR, Boston, Mass.

MARRIED—In Lawrence, (Kansas,) June 17th, by Rev. R. Cordley, Mr. WILLIAM L. G. SOULE to Miss MARY BENSON, daughter of George W. Benson, Esq.

THE GREAT BATTLES OF GETTYSBURG.

ALSO,

"WHAT I SAW IN TENNESSEE,"

BY EDMUND KIRKE.

THE NEW YORK SEMI-WEEKLY TRIBUNE of Tuesday, July 7, contains forty-eight columns of matter of unusual interest and variety, enough to make two good-sized volumes. Among these articles is the first of a series of Letters written expressly for THE TRIBUNE, by "EDMUND KIRKE," author of "Among the Pines," entitled, "What I saw in Tennessee." Mr. "Kirke" has recently made a tour in the Southwest, and proposes to give in these letters an *inside view* of the Rebellion, for which his familiarity with Southern people and their habits, and his remarkable facility in describing them, eminently fit him. This first letter sets forth the character and portrays the enormities of the Rebellion with a vividness and power not hitherto reached by any other writer. A large portion of the sheet will be given up to a full account of the Battles of Gettysburg—the most intelligent, complete, and best-written narrative of the terrible fighting of last week that has been published, and written by our own correspondents, who were eye-witnesses to what they relate. The account will be brought down to the latest moment. It will contain also a review of the forthcoming work of Mrs. Frances Butler—Life as she saw it on a Southern Plantation—embracing some long extracts from the book.

TERMS OF THE TRIBUNE.

DAILY TRIBUNE.

Single copy, - - - - - - 3 cents.
Mail Subscribers, one year (311 issues) - - $8.

SEMI-WEEKLY TRIBUNE.

One copy, one year (104 issues) - - $3.
Two Copies, one year, - - - - $5.
Five Copies, oneeyear, - - - - $12.

WEEKLY TRIBUNE.

One Copy, one year, (52 issues) - $2.
Three Copies, one year, - - - $5.
Five Copies, one year, - - - $8.
Ten Copies, one year, - - - $15.

Any larger number, *addressed to names of subscribers*, $1.50 each. An extra copy will be sent to every club of ten.

Twenty Copies, *to one address*, one year, $25, and any larger number at same price. An extra copy will be sent to clubs of twenty. Any person who will send us a club of thirty or over shall receive *The Semi-Weekly Tribune* gratis.

Address THE TRIBUNE,
Tribune Buildings, New York.

The Liberator.

No Union with Slaveholders!

BOSTON, FRIDAY, JULY 10, 1863.

FOURTH OF JULY AT FRAMINGHAM.

The customary gathering of Anti-Slavery people to celebrate the Fourth of July in the beautiful Grove at Framingham was eminently successful this year. No larger audience has ever joined in this celebration. Long railroad trains were filled with visitors from a distance, and a vast number of vehicles brought friends of the cause from Framingham and the adjacent towns. The grove was deliciously cool and pleasant, a gentle breeze refreshed the multitude all day long, timely clouds helped the trees to give shade, and the dryness of the earth, however unfavorable to the farmers of that region, was all that could be desired for our pic-nic.

The speakers who usually attend this celebration were present, and some unexpected friends, from distant places, addressed the audience, adding greatly to the pleasure of the day. And the exercises were delightfully varied by songs and choruses, at intervals, from the Hutchinson Family, who came for the express purpose of again giving their aid to the cause of freedom. It is difficult to say who enjoyed their music most, those who had, or those who had not, heard it before. One thing is certain, whoever writes the history of the Anti-Slavery cause must describe the aid given in diffusing it by the singing of the various branches of this gifted family.

When the audience had spent a little time in friendly greetings, they were called to order by E. D. DRAPER, of Hopedale, and WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON was chosen President of the meeting, and prayer was offered by a clergyman whose name was not given.

Mr. GARRISON said—I supposed that some other person would be appointed to preside on this occasion, but I am willing, of course, to stand in the gap, and do what I can. I shall not detain you with any preliminary remarks; but I will read a letter which has been received from Hon. HENRY WILSON, in answer to one inviting him to be present at this meeting:—

WASHINGTON, July 1st, 1863.

DEAR SIR—I had hoped to be able to accept your kind invitation to be with the friends of the slave at Framingham on the 4th, but I feel it to be my duty to stay here during these hours of trial.

I hope nothing will be said at your meeting to commit any Anti-Slavery man to the foolish, and I think wicked proposition made by Mr. Conway in England. I hope Mr. Conway speaks for no one but himself. Patriotism and Liberty are now inseparable words, and I hope every Anti-Slavery man in America will stand by our country, and our whole country. Crush the Rebellion and its cause with the iron hand of war! should be on the tongue and in the heart of every Anti-Slavery man in our country.

Yours, truly, H. WILSON.

Mr. Wilson's reference to Mr. Conway is, I suppose, understood by nearly every one in this assembly. He hopes that no anti slavery man endorses what Mr. Conway has undertaken to perform in England. I will read what Mr. Conway proposed to the Confederate envoy in London, Mr. Mason, for the information of some who may not have seen the correspondence. [See preceding page.]

Senator Wilson expresses the hope that no anti-slavery man in America will endorse this overture on the part of Mr. Conway. For one, I have simply to say, that I know of no anti-slavery man in America who is disposed to endorse it. (Applause.) I know of no man calling himself an Abolitionist who does not utterly eschew it as absurd, visionary, unnecessary, unwarrantable. We are for the Government, (great applause,) because the Government is in the right as against the rebellion, and we are not disposed to interfere to give a triumph to the wrong side, even for so good a purpose as that of abolishing slavery; for Abolitionists are incapable of doing a dishonorable act, even to forward the anti-slavery cause, to any extent. (Applause.) We are, therefore, with the Government, and hold that the Government cannot, on its own plane of action, do otherwise than carry on the war until the rebellion be utterly put down; and we maintain, that in putting down the rebellion, it has

Poetry.

For the Liberator.

THE SLAVER.

AN EVENT OF THE YEAR EIGHTEEN HUNDRED AND FORTY.

Now, glass in hand, stern Homans stands,
O'er the Brilliante's deck-rail leaning,
As through the waves his clipper ploughs,
With rays of sunset streaming
O'er pennon, masts, and blackened hull,
And sails, like the wings of the white sea-gull.

Just one day from the Guinea coast,
Low in the distance lying,
With cargo of six hundred slaves,
For the shores of Cuba flying:
Sixty bold Spaniards tread the deck—
Of what mishap need Homans reck?

Yet, see! far on the horizon's edge
He marks a sail appearing,
And anxiously he gazes now,—
"'Tis a cruiser, surely, bearing
Down on us like a hungry shark!
Aye, there are four! what means it?—hark!"

A signal gun booms o'er the waves,
And Homans waits no longer:
"Down with the helm! Set every sail!
Would that this breeze were stronger!
They'll give us desperate chase to-night,
Else darkness hide us from their sight."

"Now clear the decks, roll out the guns,
And shot their yawning throats;
Their roaring we may need ere long—
Curse on those bloodhound boats!
Yet, if surrounded ere the light
Of morn, *the stag at bay can fight!*"

Now like a racer sends the brig
O'er the boundless plains before her,
While darkness slowly draws its shroud
O'er pursued and o'er pursuer;
Yet, now and then, a distant gun
Told that the leagued ships followed on.

Long time the captain restless trod
The vessel's quivering plank,
Unmindful of his busy men,
And hearing not the clank
Of chains beneath, where lay the slave,
Praying some mighty Power to save.

Deep are his mutterings:—"Wind is failing;
If those hounds gain upon us,
Our chance were nothing in a fight
With all four broadsides round us;
Yet shall we bow to England's sword,
And yield with *proof of guilt* on board?

"What are six hundred niggers worth?
No risk, like this, to run:
A thousand more can soon be got"—
He hears another gun!
"Gods! but how fast those devils come!
Ten hours must see my plans all done."

Quickly he turned. Soon, o'er the bows,
A ponderous anchor swung,
And from it, stretching round the ship,
A cable-chain there hung;
On single cord the anchor swayed—
That cut, mid ocean's depths it laid.

Now closely pinioned, wrist to wrist,
From the hot hold below
Are brought the slaves, and o'er the rail
By force compelled to bow;
While clinking hammers rivet fast
Their fetters round that cable cast.

With oath, and threat, and shriek, and groan,
The work goes briskly on:
Dark Night the only witness there
How the dread deed is done.
Seven hours roll by—six hundred slaves
Are bending o'er their ocean graves!

Piteous the shrieks for mercy now,
As Homans scans the throng,
And, like a fiend, examines well
Each link and fetter strong:—
The breeze has died; but, sullen, rests
Thick fog upon the Atlantic's breast.

"Go forward, Harro, with the axe!"
"Aye, aye!" responds the mate:
"I hate to lose the niggers, but
Till morn I dare not wait;
So stand, and, if you hear the word,
Cut quick that swinging anchor's cord."

And long again the captain paced
The deck with mutterings low,
Oft anxious peering through the fog,
As breaks the day light now:
"Aye, that gun tells me what I like—
I judged them near—*now, Harro, strike!*

One single, sudden, heavy plunge—
One crash—one mighty scream
Of horror—and the rushing waves
Close o'er the dreadful scene,
As to th' unfathomed ocean's bed
Go down the murdered slaves like lead.

* * * * * *

Long o'er the waters glance the crew,
With loaded rifles armed,
Lest some poor wretch, his fetters broke,
May rise again unharmed:
Not one!—the fatal chain was strong!
Wild ocean buried all the throng!

"*All safely moored*, I reckon!" speaks
The fiend with horrid grin;
"*Won't weigh their anchor* very soon—
Ha! ha! how they fell in!
Now let 'em board us, that's the plan,
And *find a nigger if they can!*"

On come the ships; the brig strikes flag,
They search her stern to stem;
Yet naught to prove her guilt appears,
And soon she's freed again:
Suspicions cannot claim the prize;
And, filling sail, away she flies.

And doth no God of justice rule
Upon the ocean wave?
Heard no Revenger the loud cry,
As sank the drowning slave?
Yes, a just God, though waiting long,
Shall yet avenge poor Afric's wrong.
The great white throne shall yet be spread,
The Book of Doom shall yet be read,
The sea shall yet give up its dead. F. R. S.

THE SLAVE-MARTYR.

BY MISS E. W. BROWN.

"During the siege of Washington, (N. C.) a flat, full of soldiers, with a few negroes, got aground under rebel fire. A heroic African said, "Somebody's got to die to get us out of this, and it may as well be me." He then deliberately got out and pushed the boat off, and fell into it pierced by five bullets."

The surf with ricocheting balls
Was churned and splashed around us;
I heard my comrades' hurried calls,
"The rebel guns have found us!"

Our vessel shivered; for, beneath,
The treacherous sand had caught her;
What man will leap to instant death
To shove her into water?

Strange light shone in our hero's eye;
His voice was strong and steady:
"My brothers, one of us must die,
And I, thank God! am ready."

A shell flew toward us, hissing hate,
Then screaming like a demon;
He calmly faced the awful fate,
Resolved to die a freeman!

He fell, his heart cut through with shot:
The true blood of that martyr
Out from his body spirted hot,
To flee the shame of barter.

We lifted up the brave man's corse;
We thought him fair and saintly;
The rebel bullets round us hoarse
We heard, but dull and faintly.

'Tis ever so; a great deed wrought,
The doer falls that moment,
As if to save the godlight thought
From any human comment.

Heroes are dead men by that fact;
Fame haunts our grave-yards, sighing,
"Alas! that man's divinest act
Should be the act of dying!"

—*American Baptist.*

The Liberator.

CRITICISM ON PSALM CX. No. II.

BY REV. LEICESTER A. SAWYER, TRANSLATOR OF THE SCRIPTURES.

8. *Character of God's speaking and swearing.*

Is God's speaking and swearing, mentioned in this Psalm, to be understood naturally or supernaturally? It is generally understood supernaturally, but without reason. God's words and promises are his laws; the uniformity of his dispensations, from the beginning to the present time, are his promise and prophecy for time to come. As fast as we ascertain his laws, we know what to depend upon. We ascertain his laws of matter, and know what to expect from material bodies; we ascertain his laws of mind and personal and social action, and know what to expect from them. God's relations to all beings are most intimate, and his laws supreme; but they do not supersede the agency of his creatures; they only limit and condition it.

We need not importune God to make heavy bodies fall in appropriate circumstances, or light bodies rise; to cause wood to burn with sufficient heat, or iron to stand a common fire. These bodies have their divine constitutions and laws, which they must obey, and cannot transgress. With proper heat and a due supply of air, wood always burns, and iron is always proof against a common fire.

God has given us no verbal assurance that he will persist in the enforcement of his laws forever; he has laid himself under no special obligations on the subject, and need not do it; but he has uniformly enforced his present laws, as far as we can judge, in all time past, and leaves us to draw what inferences we deem fit from this in respect to his future action. Our practical inferences are clear and uniform, that God will hold matter to the same laws to-morrow, as he has done to-day, and did yesterday, and that he will carry out the same methods and principles in all time to come, as he has done in all time past. This is our conclusion in respect to the material world. The same method leads to the same conclusion in respect to the spiritual and moral worlds. The spiritual world consists of spirits as the material world does of bodies; and spirits have their laws and modes of action established by the Creator as much as bodies.

Rational spirits act from rational considerations, and such considerations operate with the same uniformity as the laws of material bodies. God's laws are as fixed and certain in the department of spirits, as in that of bodies, and in the department of the voluntary action of spirits, as in that of their vital, organic and involuntary actions. Freedom is relative to the subject, and to the laws of his being. It defines the limits of possible action; moral beings are as much under law as material; and God's laws are not uncertain nor variable. They determine the positions, motions, force, composition and decomposition of every atom and every aggregate of atoms, from pebbles to mountains, continents, oceans and worlds; and they also govern every soul and every community, from the humblest subject to the proudest monarch, and from the family consisting of a single pair, to nations, empires and races.

The laws of God are positive facts, by which God speaks to us, and makes us promises and covenants. Men speak for him, and sometimes in his name, and with his assumed authority. This was the method of the Hebrew prophets and poets; and has been the method of the great poets and religious teachers of other nations. The worshippers of different gods have in all ages spoken and delivered messages from them.

It is a bold step to make God speak, and tell what he says; but it is bolder still to make him swear, and report the words of his oath. The Hebrew poets sometimes do both; both are done in this Psalm. How are we to understand these doings?

Such modes of teaching are not uncommon. We meet with them frequently in the Greek and Latin classics, and in the poems of other nations, and have no difficulty in their interpretation; we always make them fictitious, and no man of sense doubts the propriety of doing so. It is only in the sacred songs of the Hebrews that a literal method of interpreting them is thought of, and here it is exacted with the greatest rigor.

We have God, in this Psalm, both speaking and swearing. We have one of his most important reported sayings, and one of his oaths—how shall we understand them? Are they literalisms or figures of speech? Are they supernaturalisms, or do they occur in the established order of events? They are generally regarded and treated as literalisms and supernaturalisms, not conformable to the established order of events; but there is no evidence in favor of such an hypothesis. There is nothing to indicate it in the form of the song, nor in its contents; nothing is said, and no oath reported which a poet may not have said and reported without any special divine help. A verbal speaking and swearing by God should have solemn attestation, but this has none at all; it depends only on the report of an anonymous poet. Whoever thought, elsewhere, of building grave theories of literalism and supernaturalism on so slender foundations?

The assumption of a supernatural communication in this Psalm, or of the description of a supernatural divine speaking and swearing, is without a particle of solid support, and must fall to the ground the moment it is thoroughly examined. God's verbal speaking and swearing, here and elsewhere in the Scriptures, are always to be understood naturally, and not supernaturally. Both agree with men's conceptions of what was proper for God, and suitable to his nature and operations, in that dim twilight of religious knowledge; neither comports with what is suitable for him, in fact, or consonant with his nature and operations. It is suitable for men to speak and make oral and written communications, and to attest and prove their communications by witnesses and circumstantial evidence. Such doings are consonant with their natures, and are prompted and demanded by necessities. Language is a human art, invented and instituted by man for his use. God has no use for it, neither is it consonant with his infinite spiritual nature, nor, as far as it appears, is it possible for him. He can neither sing like birds, nor screech and cry like animals, nor talk like men. He is silent, without any of the organs of speech, or the necessities which demand their use. He signifies his thoughts by painting and other signs, and by the speech and other sounds of creatures. He everywhere puts the creature forward in the realms of sound, sight, and of all the senses; but back of every creature stands the God. In every creature that is seen, he is seen; in every creature that is heard, he is heard; in every creature that is touched, he is touched; and all *creation* is his *revelation*. Thus he always appears, and is equally apparent in every part of it. The beautiful everywhere represents his beauty, the sublime his sublimity, and the sensible, in all its varieties, his transcendental qualities, which lie beyond the domain of sense, in that of pure uncreated and imperishable spirit.

There is a difference of opinion about swearing, and some object to it as immoral; but the essential thing in oaths is not objected to, and that is, affirming under special penalties. The purposes of justice require that men should affirm under heavy penalties, in order to secure, as far as possible, true testimony. This is done by swearing subject to heavy penalties for swearing falsely, and also by affirming subject to the same penalties. It is suitable for men to be put under affirmations, and, according to the view of those who regard swearing as moral, to be put under oaths; they can be put under affirmations, and made responsible for what they say, and liable to punishment if they equivocate, withhold, or pervert the truth. They are subject to penalties, and can be made to suffer. But who shall put God under penalties? Who shall call him to account for his affirmations? And what significance is there in his oaths? Not the least. They are a great sham. They do not mean anything but the ignorance and misconception of those who impute to God such attributes of humanity. A dark and ignorant age exacted of God oaths and affirmations, and sometimes made him change his mind and recal his oaths. These are not to be taken as facts; they cannot be such; their absurdity and impiety are infinite. Men cannot exact oaths nor affirmations of God, neither can he assume them, or be made liable to penalties for his doings. A true faith scorns such helps, and has as little need of them in the department of religion as in that of the physical sciences. No oaths or affirmations of God can add to the certainty of a demonstration in mathematics, and none are required to assure us that fire will consume dry stubble, and water quench a common fire. Just as little do we require positive verbal assurances from God, that vice and sin conduct to misery, and the virtues to glory and joy.

Strictly speaking, God neither speaks, affirms, nor swears, but indicates by other modes his purposes, and represents them to us by symbols, comprehending all speech and all parts of our knowledge and experience. Men are his word and the instruments of his revelation, and these condition the religion of Christ and the system of Christianity.

THE SABBATICAL CHEAT.

Here is a specimen (from the *New York Observer* of June 18th) of the deliberately deceptive paragraphs which frequently appear in that paper, and in the majority of papers called "religious," respecting what they call Sabbath-breaking:—

A RAILROAD PRAYER. In the service of the Protestant Episcopal Church, on every Lord's day, the Ten Commandments are read, and a responsive and appropriate petition is audibly offered, between each command, by the people. We would be pleased to see the President and Directors of a Sabbath-breaking railroad kneeling, and saying at the close of the Fourth Commandment—"Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law." To which we would say, "AMEN."

This is designed to convey the following ideas;—that railroad officers violate a law of God by running their trains on Sunday; that the particular law thus violated is the fourth commandment of the Hebrew decalogue; and that, if they obeyed that fourth commandment, they would cease to labor and travel on Sunday.

Not one of the ideas thus craftily suggested is true. As far as the Bible is concerned, (even if we give all the weight to its commands which the strictest believer claims for them,) there is not one particle of evidence in its pages, Old Testament or New, that God ever prohibited, or that He now disapproves, labor or recreation on Sundays.

The fourth commandment requires just one thing, and no more, namely; a keeping the seventh day of the week, Saturday, holy or separate from other days, by *doing no work upon it.*

Jews are still required to obey this fourth commandment, like the other commandments of their decalogue. If they work on Saturdays, they are Sabbath-breakers. There is no such thing as keeping this fourth commandment without resting from labor the whole of Saturday; there is no such thing as breaking it without working on Saturday. The commandment itself declares that the first six days of the week are the days in which all needful labor should be performed; and these days are Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday. The seventh day, Saturday, is the Sabbath. In that, those who undertake to obey this commandment must do no work whatever.

Every attendant on an Episcopal church who devoutly makes the response in the Prayer-Book, after the fourth commandment, really prays that God would incline his heart to do no work on Saturdays. Since the commandment includes this and nothing else, the response that echoes it must include this and nothing else. In no way can an Episcopalian preserve a decent consistency between his life and his prayer but by observing the Saturday rest as the Jews do, and abstaining from all labors on that day. But, far from attempting to preserve this decent consistency, Episcopalians are invariably open Sabbath-breakers, using Saturday just like an ordinary day, in spite of their pretended reverence for the fourth commandment.

When the editor of the *Observer* says "AMEN" in the above paragraph, *he* also prays that God would incline his heart to do no work on Saturday. Since the petition contains no other meaning than this, the responsive AMEN can contain no other meaning.—Whether he really keeps the Sabbath, the printers in his office can judge. But if he does not keep Saturday as a rest-day, both for himself and the persons in his employ, he does not obey the fourth commandment. In that case, he is a Sabbath-breaker.

Every railroad in this country is a Sabbath-breaking road, because no one of them conscientiously abstains from labor on Saturday. To be sure, this is of no consequence, since, the managers and laborers of these roads not being Jews, the Hebrew law in question is not binding upon them The Sabbath is a Jewish institution. Let the Jews observe it if they will. And if any person who calls himself a Christian wishes to observe it, in spite of the adverse example of Jesus and the adverse teaching of Paul, let him honestly observe the day specified in the fourth commandment itself; and not deceitfully pretend that observance of *Sunday* as a day of *worship* is obedience to a command which enjoins the observance of *Saturday* as a day of *rest.*

Labor or recreation on Sunday is no more a violation of the fourth commandment than of the fifth or the sixth; since Sunday is no more mentioned, or referred to, or intended, or included, in one than in the other.—C. K. W.

SUNDAY IN SCOTLAND. The Glasgow *Scotsman* states that a petition, signed by more than thirty-six thousand adult male inhabitants of the city of Edinburgh, has just been sent to the House of Commons, praying that the Botanic Gardens of Edinburgh may be opened on Sunday afternoons to the people. These names, 36,103 signatures, were obtained, without any elaborate machinery or general system of canvassing, in thirteen days; and they may fairly be considered, the *Scotsman* thinks, to represent the desire of the majority of the inhabitants of Edinburgh that this boon should not longer be withheld from the working classes of the city and the community generally. Among the signatures are those of a large number of influential citizens, the names of no fewer than fifteen professors within the University being appended, besides a large representation of the legal and medical professions.—C. K. W.

BALTIMORE, June 22, 1863.

The rebels are at Frederick this morning. The city is imperfectly defended, and is full of traitors of the most venomous kind. They will give all the aid in their power to the enemy, should he make an attack. Over one thousand negroes are at work on the fortifications to defend us from the traitors. In the mean time, the Government at Washington has lately been unusually active in arresting and sending back to their claimants, fugitives from slavery! C.

PARADE OF COLORED TROOPS. The 1st Regiment United States colored troops marched from Mason's Island, through Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington, to Bethel Church and back, last week. The regiment carried 800 muskets.

THEODORE PARKER.

DEAR GARRISON—As a friend to Theodore Parker, I feel grieved at the unwarrantable use that has been made of his name, as you will see by the advertisement below. In common with others of Mr. Parker's friends, here and elsewhere, I am unwilling that his name should be thus bandied in the newspapers, and for the reprehensible purpose of compelling that name into the endorsement of an error which Mr. Parker, during his life, ignored and condemned. Would you, Mr. Editor, be willing to have your name thus used, after your death? Would you be willing to have some person, calling himself a "medium," after you are dead, assume your name, and utter in your name sentiments that you utterly repudiated while living? Why, my friend, only allow such a use of one's name to be made after his death, and, long after you shall have passed away, we may hear of "a speech by William Lloyd Garrison," "by and through" some nervous medium, in which we shall find an utter repudiation of the views and sentiments you advocated while living! In this way, Wendell Phillips, when dead, may be left to contradict all he ever uttered while living.

But we may be told, perhaps, that the "medium," in this case, utters no sentiments which cannot be found in the writings of Mr. Parker. To this I reply:—

1. That this admission shows that no "mediums" are necessary, except it be for making one who is dead endorse some idea which he never uttered while living. The views of Theodore Parker are to be found in his writings, and in the memories which a host of friends retain of him. And it is a monstrous injustice to pretend that Mr. Parker has come back from that "undiscovered bourne," and thus to repudiate the sentiments he entertained while here on earth.

2. In this confiscation of the names of the dead consists the great fraud of spiritism. Mr. Parker did not believe in "mediums"; he did not believe that departed spirits ever take possession of the living, and speak through them in the way he is now made to say they do by the following representation, published recently in the *Banner of Light* and other papers in this city:—

"A DISCOURSE BY THEODORE PARKER.

'The Future of America,' a Discourse by Theodore Parker, through the organism of Mrs. Cora L. V. Hatch, delivered in Lyceum Hall, Boston, Sunday, May 10, 1863, phonographically reported by J. R. Pember, and published in the *Banner of Light*, and for sale at the *Banner* office, Monday, May 25th."

And this is what this *spirit-mania* is now doing. A young woman fancies herself to be Theodore Parker, and the "words," "words" she utters while thus hallucinated are published and sold as a veritable, personal "Discourse by Theodore Parker." And here is some of the trash, uttered by the young woman, Mrs. Hatch, on the occasion referred to, which the editor of the *Banner* attributes to Theodore Parker, as having been spoken by him, a few days go, in Lyceum Hall:—

"Friends—for among you, my hearers, I recognize many who are my friends—the sound of my voice may not be familiar to you, nor may you recognize in this form one who has stood among you, and whose hours have passed. And I wish to be known, that no one else may be held responsible for my ideas, or what I may express; therefore I wish you expressly to understand who I am, and what is my name, that you may attribute to me all the blame. My name was THEODORE PARKER; and I can but feebly express to you the grateful feelings of my soul that I am permitted by the immortal soul of God to appear among you, even in this form."

The *Banner* man then adds:—

"At the announcement of the name, a spontaneous thrill, like an electric shock, ran through the audience."

And were there any of Mr. Parker's real friends, those who knew him personally, present when the above announcement was made, I am sure they must have been "shocked," as the falsehood, the deception, the hallucination, and frauds perpetrated by the spirit-mania now prevalent among us, may well shock the nerves of any one who is at the pains to witness them. Familiar as I have myself been with the facts and the fancies of these so-called "mediums," for the last fourteen years, I must nevertheless confess to a very decided repugnance to this unhallowed use of the sainted name of Theodore Parker. He is not here in person to speak in his own vindication; nor can I think of an act of injustice more dark and disgraceful than that perpetrated by the fanaticism which makes Theodore Parker the author of this language. To make a false quotation from Mr. Parker's *writings*, and thus to attribute words to him which he never used, and ideas which he never taught, would be a very serious crime; as it would be, also, to quote his ideas in language he never used, and then announce that language as Mr. Parker's own identical words. But, the *fraud* now complained of is a greater crime than this; for the young woman in this case does not pretend to quote Mr. Parker, she does not appear as his interpreter, nor does she tell us that she, in common with others, is more or less influenced by Mr. Parker's writings. Nothing like this! The young woman, Cora L. V. Hatch, stands up before a "crowded audience," most of whom were hallucinated with the IDEA of "spirits," like herself, and she says:—

"I am Theodore Parker, who died in Florence, May 10, 1860. And I wish to be known, that no one else may be responsible for my ideas, or what I may *express*; therefore I wish you expressly to understand who I am, and what is my name. My name was Theodore Parker."

But the *Banner* man says "the controlling influence" said this. "The controlling influence"! Well, and what was that but a *notion*, an IDEA which had taken possession of the medium's mind? A "controlling influence," verily, a nose of wax, which takes any shape which the imagination or fancy chances to give it; a phantasmagoria, a mental kaleidoscope; and hence we find this same Mrs. Hatch dreamy, somnambulic, hallucinated, as she has been from a child, by this same "controlling influence," announcing herself, now as "Theodore Parker," then as "Daniel Webster," and next as "John C. Calhoun," or Tom, Dick and Harry, as the "controlling influence" can best succeed in putting money in her pocket, and also into the pocket of the *Banner* man, who publishes her fanatical harangues. And no matter what personality she may pretend to be, her language, her style, and her spirit, or "controlling influence," may be easily detected.

In matters of spiritism, there is no authority, perhaps, equal to that of Swedenborg, who informs us that all mediums are made such by the *infestation*, not of angels, but "spirits," which are near this earth, and which are more or less vicious and mischievous, and which take delight in hallucinating their victims with the belief that they are controlled by some distinguished personage, some "Lord Bacon," or "Theodore Parker." And so, if we were to admit that this woman may be "controlled" by any one "spirit" besides her own, it would not follow, nor is it susceptible of proof, that she has ever been controlled by more than one. At one time she announces her "controlling influence" as that arch rebel, "John C. Calhoun," and, for aught that she or the *Banner* man can show, the "controlling influence" in Lyceum Hall, May 10, 1863, was this same slaveholding John C. Calhoun, who assumed the prestige which he knew would be likely to follow in the wake of Mr. Parker's name, and thus, by duping her and others into the belief that it was Theodore Parker who was speaking, when it was a nullifier, who was detested by Mr. Parker, as an enemy to the human race.

It is susceptible of demonstration, that this same medium, Cora L. V. Hatch, has been *hallucinated* and "disgraced," (to use her own word,) disgraced by spiritism. She commenced her career as a medium when quite young, and under the IDEA that she was controlled by "spirits" of a very high order of intelligence; and it was under that "controlling influence," when a mere girl, in her teens, that she married a man unworthy of her, and old enough to be her grandfather. And so it came to pass, that Cora very soon discovered, what her "spirit guides," her "guardian angels," had failed to inform her beforehand, that her spouse sought her in marriage for the "dimes" which were taken at the door when she lectured and personified "Theodore Parker" and "Andrew Jackson." And, now, it is a matter long since of public notoriety, that the cupidity of her husband was the ground of that discord for which she sought a divorce from him. The spirits, it seems, did not serve Cora any very good purpose when she got married, as the sequel has proved to her sorrow.

But Mrs. Hatch has been "disgraced" as a medium, by her own showing. About four years since, she gave a course of lectures in Lynn, when she pledged herself to the audience that she would "retire from her mediumship in disgrace," if she failed within four weeks from that time to solve a certain mathematical problem, which solution was to be sent to Mr. Alonzo Lewis. At the close of her lecture, she had offered the privilege, and, so, two mathematical questions were submitted to her; one she answered, but answered wrong, and the other, respecting the square of the circle, she boldly pledged herself or the "spirits" to answer; that is, giving the true solution of that problem, and to send it within four weeks to Mr. Lewis, or "she would retire from her public lectures in disgrace." And now, what has come to pass? Why, that problem remains unsolved, no answer has come from Mrs. Hatch, and she is "disgraced," according to her own pledge; and the more so, as she has not retired, as she promised to do. Nor do I perceive how those can free themselves from "disgrace," who, by publishing the cant and twattle uttered by this woman, thus become parties to the fraud she perpetrates under the name of spiritism. No matter who it is that is said to speak "through her organism," "Webster," "Clay," "Calhoun," or "St. Paul," the style and spiritual cant are always the same. And, to show how this somnambulic dreamer is lauded as a medium, take the following from the spiritual paper, the *Herald of Progress* of Feb. 9, 1861:—

"Perhaps the finest and *best adapted* instrument these unseen powers have yet employed is Mrs. Cora Hatch.

"Daniel Webster, Clay, Parker, Andrew Jackson, speak through her organism; not brilliantly; not perchance with the glow and burnish, the bone and sinew they would employ, could they reanimate the refuse which is encoffined in their family vaults; but they speak satisfactorily—more than that."

"Not brilliantly"! No, indeed; nothing of that sort; nothing ever fell from her lips, "entranced" or not, that came from Webster, Clay, Parker or Jackson. And this brings me to the *confession* made by the writer in the *Herald*, which I conceive to be *fatal* to the claims so often made by Mrs. Hatch, and others like her, when we are told that Webster, Clay, and other different personages, speak through her. Here is the confession:—

"Mrs. Hatch has *one fault*, which I hope her spirit friends will overcome. She iterates and reiterates the leading thought of her discourse too constantly. She manipulates it so frequently, that it loses force—like a clay image molded by a sculptor. Strong, bold is it in its first conception and formation; yet, touched again and again, the prominences are flattened, the hollows filled in, till, from very repetition, the original idea is lost sight of, and the promised effect vanishes."

Now, are we to believe that all the different personages, who, we are told, speak through Mrs. Hatch, have the "one fault," the repetition, always so characteristic of ignorance and incompetency in public speakers? And see what a compliment the writer has paid to Webster, Clay and Parker, in the expression of her hope that they will "overcome" their "faults" in elocution!

The modest "Medium," ashamed and grieved
To engross a moment's notice on her own account,
Begs a propitious ear for "Clay" and "Webster,"
However trivial all that she conceives.
Sweet bashfulness! It claims at least this praise:
The dearth of information and good sense,
That it forestalls us, always comes to pass.

It might be readily admitted that the claims put forth by this woman are so obviously absurd, and unsupported as they are by a particle of evidence which is appropriate to the subject, she is unworthy of any notice. So, indeed, she would be unworthy of notice, if she were the only one thus deluded. But what should be done to stem the torrent of this MANIA, when its victims are numbered, not by tens of thousands merely, but by millions? And who of us would be willing to have our names used after our death in the way this woman and the *Banner of Light* are now using the name of Theodore Parker, and who is thus compelled to endorse and support by the wealth of his fame, as a scholarly great and good man, a monstrous error, such as he believed spiritism to be, up to the time of his death? When a man dies, his work is done on this earth. His example and the influence of his character may live long after he shall have passed away. But this delusion of mediums makes a man live again in this world; and, speaking through the addled brains of some nervous medium; he is made to contradict the whole tenor of his human life! Thus Mr. Parker is made to endorse the fanaticism of spiritism, a delusion of which he disapproved.

My acquaintance with Mr. Parker commenced in 1845, and was continued to the time of his death; and I have read numerous utterances of mediums purporting to come from him, but I have never yet seen or heard the first sentence which came from Theodore Parker, unless it was something borrowed from his writings. Mrs. Hatch has made repeated efforts at prayer and preaching in imitation of his style, but they have been miserable failures—such as might, indeed, send an "electric shock" through any one of his friends familiar with his manner of speaking. Persons bewitched with the *idea* of spirits would be likely to *believe* whatever certain mediums might say, no matter whose names and memory they might dishonor by saying it.

During the year 1850, it was my privilege to investigate the phenomena of spiritism, in connection with Theodore Parker, and I am certain as to what his views were upon the subject, up to the time when he left this country for Europe. He admitted the facts, (physical phenomena,) but he utterly ignored the idea of spirits in their origin; and he accounted for all that the mediums do by laws that appertain to this world. And, as far as can be now determined, Mr. Parker left us in the full belief that all mediums, so-called, are self-entranced, and hallucinated when they imagine that "spirits" speak through them. This fact is important, inasmuch as spiritism teaches, as one of its fundamentals, that we commence in the next world with precisely the same views and prejudices in which we leave this world. Hence, according to spiritism, Mr. Parker would not be likely to select any young lady medium through whom to address the mortals he had left behind, and especially not such a medium as this Mrs. Hatch is known to be, and for the reason that he did not believe in these mediums at all.

This spirit-mania will probably continue after the last of Mr. Parker's friends, who are best qualified to speak for him, shall have passed away. And now, to allow these fanatical assumptions to pass uncontradicted might be interpreted, by posterity, into a tacit admission of their truthfulness; and so, hereafter, this trash and cant might be believed, for the reason that those who knew Theodore Parker did not contradict the assumption, although every way qualified to do so.

Sure I am, that no one familiar with Theodore Parker can suppose, for one moment, that he would put himself in such a "questionable shape" as is implied by the mediumship of Mrs. Cora L. V. Hatch; and the attempt of the *Banner of Light* folks to make money from the sale of "spiritual literature," under false pretences like those I have here exposed, is neither just nor reputable. It is an offence against justice, and of which I suppose any one but a spiritist would feel heartily ashamed.

"Disgust concealed
Is oft-times proof of wisdom, when the fault
Is obstinate, and the cure beyond our reach."

LETTER TO REV. SAMUEL J. MAY.

JAMAICA PLAIN, ROXBURY, June 2d, 1863.

REV. SAMUEL J. MAY:—

MY DEAR FRIEND,—I have just read, in the *Liberator* of May 29th, your letter to Mr. Garrison of May 11th, read at the Annual Meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society; and although I am much gratified to perceive that you still use the strongest expressions of abhorrence for the criminal and cruel practice of war, the present included, and nowhere give the slightest countenance to it, except as an endurance of it on the supposed ground of necessity; yet considering this imagined necessity to be unreal, and that the belief of it is a delusion, which I am anxious that a mind so peaceful as yours should not cherish, I cannot refrain from commenting on your letter, trusting that our former friendship and sympathy will excuse any frankness I may use, in controverting some of the positions you appear to take.

In showing that this war might have been easily averted, you say, "Thirty years ago there was moral, ecclesiastical, religious power enough in the land to abolish slavery by peaceful means." Pardon me if I cannot see this: the people of the Southern States believed fully in the rightfulness of slavery, and deemed their alleged property in slaves to be as sacred as those of the North, their property in lands, houses or cattle; and had the North all been united in determination to abolish slavery, and on the mode of doing it, the Slave States would never have given it up in the Union which sanctioned it, by any peaceable means. Mr. Garrison and his friends never thought of any other way than by separation, though they have now abandoned that sound doctrine; and during the last thirty years, no effort was made by the people of the North to put down slavery, till the States of the South struck for independence, which is, therefore, the true and sole cause of the war, and its protraction. Should the seceded States now give up their cause, and consent to come again into the Union on the old Constitutional basis, nineteen-twentieths of the people of the Free States would be willing to make peace with them, retracting the President's proclamation, and saying nothing more about slavery.

I am more surprised, and I must say grieved, at a sentiment in the next paragraph, from one who is among the last to whom I should ascribe it. You say, "We have lost our hold upon the slaveholders, as fellow-Christians, or fellow-citizens even; and now we must put them down, utterly down, as wicked rebels against God, and against the best form of government God has ever helped men to devise and establish on earth." It is indeed true, that we have lost our hold upon the slaveholders as fellow-citizens, though our Government denies this plain fact; but, passing the fallacious assumptions of our statesmen, that this secession is a rebellion, that ours is the best form of civil government, that God has helped to establish it, &c., I would ask if he has anywhere authorized us to put down those whom we judge to be rebels against him; especially by the criminal murders of war, so abhorrent to his character, and so forbidden in his gospel? I am amazed that an amiable Christian brother should describe such a course of action to the adored God of love. I cannot.

But, like several of our professed peace men, who have given up their peace principles in approbation of the war, for the sake of hoped emancipation, you fall on the ground of necessity. You say, "We are in the midst of a civil war, and nothing is left for us to do but to fight on, at any expense of treasure and of life, until slavery—the cause of the war—is abolished." We must commit suicide to save our lives. Is this necessary? The war, on the part of the South, not being for slavery, which would not be assailed in peace, but only for independence; grant them only that condition, to which—according to the Declaration of Independence—they have a perfect right, and you may have peace in a month; and slavery may be brought to an end much sooner than it can by war.

But you say, "Separation would not end the strife, for the slaveholding States would be just as near the non-slaving as they now are." It is strange that you should suppose that war between countries depends upon proximity or distance; nor would the sentiments of each party continue to be as hostile to those of the other as they are now—as you suppose—for this animosity of the people of the Slave States arises from the belief that the Northerners are invading them to rob them not only of their independence, but of their dearest property, which could not be the case when separated, and the scarcely less ferocity of the people of the North is the desire to crush and subdue those they consider rebels, which would not be imagined if they were recognized as independent; there would be indeed nothing to fight for on either side; and in view of the experienced loss and distress of war, there could be no disposition for it.

You say—and truly—"The grand doctrine of the Declaration of Independence is not a mere rhetorical flourish—a glittering generality," &c. Now, I read in the Declaration of Independence, that all men are entitled to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness;" that governments derive "their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of its ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness." This Declaration, which you say "is a gospel truth," strikes indeed directly at the alleged right to hold a fellow-man as a slave, but it equally and as plainly permits any organized member of a confederacy to depart from its connection with other members when they shall deem themselves oppressed by them, and have not the requisite majority to effect it by the constitutional method. This is especially a right when the departing communities are sovereign States, who never resigned the whole of their sovereignty; but only such portions as are enumerated in the Constitution, expressly reserving all others to themselves; and as the power to prevent a secession is not one of the granted powers, that of decreeing it is of course reserved to the States. The attempt, therefore, by the Federal Government to coerce the seceding States into allegiance is—even on political maxims—a wrong and a usurpation; but, whether legal or not, cannot be acquiesced in by any true friend of peace.

With assurance of continued friendship and esteem,
Yours affectionately,
J. P. BLANCHARD.

STEPS TOWARD REFORM. We observe that Messrs. Josiah Quincy, Jr., Henry I. Bowditch and Henry W. Bishop have been nominated as commissioners under the "resolve concerning the petition of S. E. Sewall and others," to examine what changes, if any, are necessary in the laws regarding insane persons, with power to visit lunatic hospitals, public and private, examine the cases of patients confined in them, to summon witnesses, &c., &c. We are much pleased to see the subject entrusted to the consideration of so intelligent and humane a commission. There have been cruelties and hardships under the operation of our present laws relating to insanity which would disgrace any civilization; and our own observation has taught us that the incarceration of individuals in insane asylums upon the testimony of medical experts frequently operates the most glaring injustice. The facts relating to insanity should be scrutinized always with the most intelligent care and candor. They should not be assumed on the opinion of one or of three individuals—especially not in the clandestine style which too frequently marks such proceedings. The commission will, we trust, go to the root of the matter, even if they do startle the State with some of their revelations.—*Roxbury Journal.*

☞ "A female slave was recently sold in Richmond for $3,080. She was entirely white, hence the remarkable price commanded."

This is one of the beautiful features of that "divine, peculiar institution," which must not be discussed. This wretched female slave is probably the half-sister of some elegant lady who moves in the best circles of F. F. V. society in the rebel capital. How strange that the "conservative" papers are as dumb as death about such shocking desecration, yet rabid at the much less revolting cases of amalgamation which occur at rare intervals in the free States!—*Nashville Union.*